The Dissertation Committee for Vinh Tan Nguyen certifies that this is the approved version of the following Dissertation:

Social Cognitive Career Theory & The Career Development of Southeast Asian American College Students

Committee:

Richard Reddick, Supervisor

Madeline Maxwell

Victor Saenz

Edwin Sharpe

Social Cognitive Career Theory & The Career Development of Southeast Asian American College Students

by

Vinh Tan Nguyen

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Texas at Austin

May 2021

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my mother and father who showed by example the meaning of resiliency and of love for family and who always found a way for their children to earn an education even when it meant having one less dollar to pay for utilities or to put food on the table. And, I dedicate this study to my wife and daughters, Aidinh and Dao, who happily laughed and lived with and without me during my dissertation journey and whose future were constantly on my mind as I conducted my research.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge my dissertation committee members who individually and as a group provided me with support, guidance, and care throughout my academic journey both inside and outside of the classroom and committee meetings. They maintained their smiles even though the journey was a long, long one for all of us. Thank you for walking and running by my side all of this time.

Abstract

Social Cognitive Theory & The Career Development of Southeast Asian American College Students

Vinh Tan Nguyen, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2021

Supervisor: Richard Reddick

Southeast Asian American (SEAA) (Cambodia American, Hmong American, Laotian American, Vietnamese American) college students have historically been neglected by higher education researchers, policymakers, and practioners. This has contributed to their marginalization misrepresentation in higher education as well as to them being underserved and underrepresented by higher education institutions. This study uses social cognitive career theory (SCCT) as the theoretical framework for examining the impact of the model minority myth and of social cognitive factors (e.g., parents, family, peers, institutional agents) on the career development phenomenon of SEAA. This study is significant because it adds to the dearth of literature on Asian American career development in general and SEAA in particular. It is also significant because it is one of the few studies that employs a qualitative approach to studying the career development of SEAA through the SCCT framework.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Context of the Study

Introduction

In Chapter 1, I will first present the context of the study on the career development of Southeast Asian American (SEAA) college students. Afterwards, I will provide a statement of the problem. Then, I will state the purpose of the study. Next, I will articulate the research questions, theoretical framework, and significance of the study. Fifth, I will provide an overview of the methodology delimitations, limitations, assumptions, and definitions. Finally, I will summarize Chapter 1.

Historical Context of Southeast Asians in American

In 1973, the United States (U.S.) government formally abandoned its allies in their fight against the spread of communism in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Two years after the official U.S. from these former French colonies, Cambodian, Hmong, Laos, and Vietnamese witnessed the collapse of their government. Like dominos, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam fell under the boots of the Ho Chi Minh's North Vietnamese Army, Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, and Kaysone Phomvihane's Pathet Lao.

Abandoned by their American allies, peoples in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam persisted through mass genocide, political prosecution, imprisonment, and starvation and escaped from the land of their ancestors. Unlike the Asian immigrants who arrived at the shores of the U.S. centuries before them, these were involuntary immigrants who did not plan to leave their country. Their choice was simple: stay and die or leave and live. As Ronald Takaki (1998) wrote, "Unlike the other Asian groups already in America, the 1975 wave of Vietnamese migrants did not choose to come here. In fact, they had no decision to make, for they were driven out by powerful events surrounding them" (1998, p. 450). Nguyệt Ánh, a Vietnamese American

musician composed “Một Lần Đi” (“Once Departed”), a song that she released in 1980 after reflecting on the SEAA refugee experience. When she departed from their motherland, she escaped at a moment’s notice. Once she departed, she only knew what she left behind:

Người tình ơi, ta có ngờ đâu rằng	My Dear Love, I didn’t realize that
Một lần đi là nghìn trùng cách biệt	Once departed is forever cut off
Một lần đi là muôn kiếp u sầu	Once departed is lifelong sorrows
Một lần đi là vĩnh viễn xa nhau	Once departed is forever apart
Giọt nước mắt cho anh	I cried for him
Giọt nước mắt cho em	I cried for her
Giọt nước mắt cho bạn bè	I cried for my friends
Lệ khóc cho mẹ già	I cried for my mother
Lệ khóc cho người tình ở lại quê hương	I cried for the love who remained in our fatherland

What she knew was that their journey would be unpredictable, arduous, and long and that they may not survive it.

Lần cuối xiết tay nhau	It was the final moment to embrace one another
Lần cuối khóc bên nhau	It was the final moment to cry together
Lời cuối sao nghẹn ngào	It was the final words that were so hard to swallow
Còn đó bao đoạn đường	There remain many roads ahead
Còn đó bao đoạn tình bỏ lại sau lưng	There remain many episodes of love left behind
Sài Gòn ơi, ta có ngờ đâu rằng	My Dear Saigon, I didn’t realize that
Mẹ hiền xưa, giờ về cùng đất lạnh	Our good mothers, now under the cold soil
Bạn bè xưa, giờ phương Bắc lưu đày	Our old friends, now in labor campus up North
Người tình xưa, giờ đang sống điêu linh	Our past lovers, now living in hardship
Sài Gòn ơi, ta có ngờ đâu rằng	My Dear Saigon, I didn’t realize that
Một ngày qua là một ngày ly biệt	A day passed is a day of farewell
Một ngày qua là ta mất nhau rồi	A day passed is a day we lost each other
Một ngày qua là muôn kiếp chia phôi	A day passed is a life-time of separation

And, she knew that their families and friends were sent to concentration camps. She realized that they would never be able to return to her native shore.

Sài Gòn ơi, ta có ngờ đâu rằng	My Dear Saigon, I didn’t realize that
Mẹ hiền xưa, giờ về cùng đất lạnh	Our good mothers, now under the cold soil
Bạn bè xưa, giờ phương Bắc lưu đày	Our old friends, now in labor campus up North
Người tình xưa, giờ đang sống điêu linh	Our past lovers, now living in hardship

Sài Gòn ơi, ta có ngờ đâu rằng	My Dear Saigon, I didn't realize that
Một ngày qua là một ngày ly biệt	A day passed is a day of farewell
Một ngày qua là ta mất nhau rồi	A day passed is a day we lost each other
Một ngày qua là muôn kiếp chia phôi	A day passed is a life-time of separation
Sài Gòn ơi, ta có ngờ đâu rằng	My Dear Saigon, I didn't realize that
Mẹ và cha đều về vùng đất lạnh	Mom and Dad are gone
Bạn bè xưa, giờ phơi xác lao tù	My old friends, now in labor camps
Người tình xưa, giờ vẫn sống điêu linh	My old lovers, now living in hardship

Notes: "Saigon" was the capitol of South Vietnam. After the downfall of South Vietnam, the Communists renamed it "Ho Chi Minh City". And, my longtime college friend, Thông Nguyễn, worked with me to translate an English version of Một Lần Đi.

Starting in 1975, these refugees escaped through jungles, rivers, and seas, risking their lives to save their families from suffering and death. They searched for the safety of the refugee camps that governmental and non-governmental organizations established in Guam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore . There, they hoped that they and their families would be sponsored as asylum seekers into Western countries, especially in the countries that were once allies to their nation's cause. For many, their destination was the U.S. There, they were be aggregated into a racially category known as "Asian" by the U.S. Census. Yet, the racial classification that the U.S. Census lumped them into were foreign to them because, as Takaki (1998) observed, "There are no Asians in Asia, only national identities" (p. 502). But, that detail, along with the unique immigration pattern and prior U.S. government relationship in their native land, did not matter in terms of the U.S. Census; SEAA would be grouped as Asians to conform to White Americans' construction and imagination of race and racial hierarchy. So, the many Southeast Asians who arrived as refugees, along with their children who would be born and/or raised in America and who would become invisible among the multitude of ethnicities under the Asian American (AA) umbrella.

Southeast Asian American College Students

The consequence of aggregating AA into one single racial category impacted not only the resettlement experiences of these refugees but also the lived experiences, particularly the career development, of their college-going children and grandchildren. Presently, SEAA college students are underrepresented and underserved students of color on college campuses in the U.S.; but, unless one intentionally research or happens upon disaggregated AA data, one would assume that the family migration history, resettlement pattern, and environment in which SEAA college students experienced prior to entering and during post-secondary would be similar to East Asian American and South East Asian American college students who make up the majority in the Asian racial category. Such assumptions has lead higher education policymakers, researchers, administrators, and practitioners to ignore, exclude, or misperceive the lived experience and needs of these students (Museus, 2014, p.1; Museus & Kiang, 2009). In short, SEAA college students are invisible to many people in positions of consequence in higher education.

Asian American College Students

One of the reasons for the invisibility of the SEAA college students is the manner in which higher education policymakers, researchers, and practice treat the AA college student lived experience in general. Since SEAA college students are lumped into AA college student data, they are invisible by association with the Asian umbrella. AA college students are visibly on paper and on college campuses but are almost invisible among higher education researchers, policymakers, administrators, and practioners. AA college students are omitted and excluded from higher education studies, discourse, programs, services, and resources (Ching & Agbayani,

2012; Museus, 2009, 2009b; Museus & Kiang, 2009; Osajima, 1995; Suzuki, 2002). This has not been an isolated and localized campuses-level phenomeon; it has been a nation-wide phenomenon. Across the U.S., college administrators, faculty, and student affair professionals consider AA mostly in terms of excluding them from student support program and services (Chiang & Agbayani, 2012, Museus, 2009). The explicit and implicit messages from these campuses to AA college students is that they do not belong in student support programs and services because they do not and should not need the counseling, guidance, and support for achieving student success (Museus, 2014; Suzuki, 2002).

Beyond the campus level, federal policies and programs and national discussions addressing underserved populations of color excludes the AA college population (Ching & Agbayani, 2012; Museus, 2009, 2014). According to Museus (2014), "In the sphere of higher education research, with few exceptions (e.g, Nakanishi 1995), [AA] were almost completely invisible and voiceless before the transition into the 21st century" (p.2). Whether the college going experience of AA are invisible because they are voiceless or because people in position of power did not listen when AA speak, what has been clear is that there is a dearth of discussion and research of AA college students. Even with a growing number of scholarships on AA in higher education, less than 1 percent of "the most widely visible peer-reviewed journals" publish articles that study the AA college student experience (Museus, 2014, p. 4; Museus & Kiang, 2009).

AA population growth. Yet, AA college students constitute the fastest growing undergraduate population (Museus, 2013, 2014). The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (2011) reported that the undergraduate and graduate enrollment numbers for AA grew fivefold between 1979 and 2009 from 235,000 to 1.3 million (Museus, 2014). The National

Commission on Asian American Pacific Islander Research in Education (CARE) (2011) estimated that AA undergraduate and graduate enrollment increased by 30% between 2009 and 2019 (Teranishi & Kim, 2017). Furthermore, the Census Bureau) approximated that AA undergraduate and graduate student enrollment for AA was at 19 million in 2019 (Museus, 2013; Museus, 2014). According to the Census Bureau, AA consisted of 4.7 million Americans, which made AA the fasting growing racial category in the U.S. In fact, the AA population doubled every decade since the 1960s (Teranishi & Kim, 2017). It grew four times faster than the overall U.S. population (Hoeffel, Rastogi, Kim, & Shahid, 2012; Museus, 2014). The Census Bureau predicted that AA will reach 40 million, which would be approximately 8 percent of the U.S. population, by 2050 (Museus, 2014; Teranishi & Kim, 2017).

Despite the increase in AA college students, AA continue to be underserved and excluded from local and national research, discourse, and resources in higher education (Lee, 2015; Chang, 2008, p. 26; SEARAC, 2011; Teranishi & Kim, 2017). Chang (2008) argued that this phenomeon made the AA college student population "one of the most misunderstood groups in higher education" (p. 26).

SEAA population growth. And, buried with the invisible and misunderstood AA college student experience are the voices of SEAA college students who have been ignored, marginalized, misrepresented, and disadvantaged in the American postsecondary education system (Kiang, 2004, 2008; Museus, 2014; Shilpa, Pawan, Sunaina, & Partha, 2000). This situation persisted despite the fact that SEAA college students had been responsible for the Asian American college student population surge (Chang, Park, Lin, Poon, & Nakanishi, 2007). Among the nearly 6 million Asian American college students in 2010, 15 percent were SEAA (Southeast Asia Resource Action Center [SEARAC], 2011).

AA and SEAA College Student Career Development

As the number of AA entering colleges and universities surged, AA college students expressed prior and after entry into college that they had a high need for career development counseling, guidance, and support (Leong & Serafica, 1995). By "career development," I am referring to the process in which college students develop their career interest, (2) decide on their career choice, and (3) perform in their career-related activities (Brown & Lent, 2013; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2002; Lent, 2005).

In spite of increases in AA college student attendance and appeals from AA for career development support, there is a paucity of research and discourse in higher education on the career development of AA college students (Kantamneni et al., 2018; Leong, 1985; Leong & Gupta, 2007). The scarcity is especially acute on literature concerning the career development of SEAA college students (Poon, 2014; Hui & Lent, 2018; Trieu, 2016; Truong & Miller, 2018; Uy, Kim, & Khuon, 2019).

Statement of the Problem

The literature gap on the career development of SEAA is a microcosm of the wider universe that excludes AA from higher education research, policy, practice, and discourse (Jang, 2018; Lee, Duesbery, Han, Her, & Pang, 2017; Maramba, Palmer & Kang, 2018; Museus, 2009, 2009b). AA college students, particularly SEAA, have to contend with the reality that the five most influential career development theories in the U.S. share at least three common characteristics: (1) the models were grounded in White American-middle class norms, values, and variables; (2) the developers of the models were White Americans who conducted and interpreted research from their perspective and positionality; and (3) the theoretical frameworks did not focus on AA in general or SEAA in specific (Leung, 2008; Leong & Hardin, 2002;

Patton & McMahon, 2014). For these reasons, contemporary career development scholars like Patton and McMahon (2014) acknowledged, " A long standing criticism of career theory is its neglect of populations other than white, middle class western males" (p. 83). That is, there is not one peer-reviewed career development theory that is by, for, and based on lived experiences of AA or SEAA (Leung, 2008; Patton & McMahon, 1999, 2006, 2014). Consequently, students of color who come from lived experiences that include collectivistic orientation, communalistic values, and non-White and -Christian traditions remain underserved in the area of career development (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Vega, 1990; Lee, Duesbery, Han, Tashi, Her, & Pang, 2017; Tang, Kim, & Haviland, 2013). In summary, the problem is that few, if any, research had been conducted on the topic of SEAA college student career development, and the theoretical career development models have been incomplete for fully comprehending the career development of this rapidly growing population across college campuses in the U.S.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study was four-fold. First, it was to examine the lived experience of SEAA college students in terms of their career development. I was particularly interested in what impact, if any, did their parents, family, peers, college and university agents had on the career development phenomenon. Second, it was to study what influence, if any, did racial stereotypes, particularly the model minority myth, had on their career development. Third, it was to explore the meaning that participants attributed to their career development. Finally, it was to close the literature gap, which I presented in the problem statement, and to extend the higher education literature on AA in general and SEAA in particular.

Research Questions

Three research questions guide my study:

1. How do SEAA college students perceive the influence (if any) that their *parents*, *family* (e.g., siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents), *peers* (e.g., friends, classmates, peers), and *institutional agents* (e.g., college and university administrators, faculty, staff) have in their career development?
2. How do SEAA college students perceive the impact (if any) that *racial stereotypes*, particularly the *model minority myth*, have in their career development?
3. What *meaning* do they attribute to their lived experience as it pertains to their career development?

Theoretical Framework

Social Cognitive Career Theory

The root of Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) is Albert Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory (SCT). SCT is a learning theory that applies to academic performance as well as to career development of college students (Bandura, 1977, 1986, 1986b, Lent et al., 1994, 2002). According to Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994), SCCT "focuses on several cognitive-person variables (e.g., self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and goal representation), and on how these variables interact with other aspects of individuals and their environment (e.g., gender, ethnicity, social support, and barriers) to help shape the course of career development" (p. 6). That is, SCCT concentrates on the interaction among three central variables—person, environment, and behavior—that it believes to impact a person's career development. For SCCT, career development has three parts, each part has its own causal model: (1) Career Interest Development Model (CID); (2) Career Choice Model (CIM); and (3) Career Performance Model

(CPM). The three causal models interlock and form a triadic casual system (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994).

SCCT & Studies on Minority, Disadvantaged and Marginalized Peoples

Researchers had deployed SCCT in examining students from marginalized communities (Borrego, Knight, Gibbs, & Crede, 2018; Brown & Lent, 2017; Dutta, Kang, Kaya, Benton, Sharp, Chan, Cardoso, & Kundu, 2015). They had also found SCCT to be useful for studying students socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds (Flores, Navarro, & Ali, 2017; Hughes & Gibbons, 2018; Turner, Joeng, Sims, Dade, & Reid, 2019). And, they used SCCT to study the career development of racial and ethnic minorities students. For instance, researchers applied SCCT to study the career development of Latinx and Mexican American students (Flores, Navarro, & DeWitz, 2008; Flores & O'Brien, 2002). And, researchers applied toward a study on Native Americans students (Thompson, 2013). In addition, researchers employed SCCT to study African American students (Byars-Winston, 2006; Gainor & Lent, 1998; Waller, 2006). Furthermore, researchers applied SCCT to examine Asian American college students (Borrego et al., 2018; Hui & Lent, 2018; Kodama & Huynh, 2017; Kim & Choi, 2018; Lowinger & Song, 2017). In fact, researchers had used SCCT to study the career development of Asian American students (Tang, Fouad, & Smith, 1999). In some cases, researchers had utilized SCCT in research that included SEAA college students among their participants (Byars-Winston, Estrada, Howard, Davis, & Zalapa, 2010; Patel, Salahuddin, & Obrien, 2008; Truong & Miller, 2018). Consequently, Fouad and Kantamneni (2013) observed, "Due to its emphasis on contextual and sociocultural influences on the career development process, research utilizing SCCT has greatly enhanced our knowledge of how indivduals from minority racial/ethnic backgrounds make

career decisions" (p. 225). As a result, SCCT is a promising career development model for my study on the career development of SEAA college students.

Significance of Study

Extension of the Literature on SEAA & Their Career Development

Since less than 1 percent of articles in prominent peer-reviewed higher education journals focus on AA, one significance of my study is that it extends the literature on AA college students in general and SEAA college students in specific (Museus, 2009, 2014). This statistic is consistent with the results of my search on The University of Texas Libraries search system. I combined *Scholarly & Peer-Review* and *Peer-Review* features and included all discipline and content types while using the *phrase Asian American**, *college student**, and *career development* to search for articles, and the return was 1,296 journal articles. I narrowed the search to *Southeast Asian American**, *college student**, and *career development*, the output was only 13 articles. I drilled down further to *Southeast Asian American**, *college student**, *career development*, and *social cognitive career theory*, and the outcome was 3 articles. For assurance, I ran the queries several times and enlisted assistance from the professional research librarian that the University of Texas at Austin assigned to the College of Education, and I received the same results. Therefore, I concluded what a multitude of scholars studying SEAA college students had already concluded: there is a paucity of literature and discourse in higher education regarding AA college students, especially SEAA (Museus & Mueller, 2018; Ngo & Lee, 2007; Truong & Miller, 2018).

Inclusion of SEAA in Higher Education Policies, Research, & Practices

In addition, the study will enhance higher educational policy, research, and practices. The literature gap reveals the exclusion of Asian Americans in general and SEAA in particular in higher education research, policy, and practices (Ching & Agbayani, 2012; Museus, 2009, 2009 b; Museus & Kiang, 2009; Osajima, 1995; Suzuki, 2002). Policy makers and colleges and universities aiming at improving the academic, financial, and career resources for underrepresented students of color have excluded AA and SEAA. Programs, services, opportunities, and resources that are open for other underrepresented students of color have denied access for AA and SEAA college students. Museus (2009) pointed to the announcement of the formation of Association for the Study of Higher Education Institute's (ASHE) for the Equity Research Methods and Critical Policy Analysis as a case in point. ASHE claimed that it formed the initiative because it wanted to counter the negative impact of higher education research and practices that resulted in the exclusion of underserved students of color in higher education:

> The institute will focus on addressing three urgent needs: (1) to support greater inclusion through the development of a core group of minority scholars with the knowledge and research methods to study questions of racial and ethnic equity in higher education; (2) to transform the agendas of higher education policy centers and give greater visibility to the needs and interests of minority communities; and (3) to develop greater recognition of minority experts in higher education and expand the network of minority scholars who are called on to shape policy agendas. Issues and events in higher education currently being discussed such as race-linked barriers to achievement and race conscious admissions are exemplary of the types of concerns that this institute will address. (ASHE, 2007, para. 3)

However, ASHE was not inclusive of particular population of students of color:

> The ASHE Institute on Equity Research Methods and Critical Policy Analysis is being created because of the historical and current inequalities that exist in higher education for

> minority populations. Specifically, the institute is targeting inequalities that exist for African Americans, Latina/os, Native Americans and Native Hawaiians. (ASHE, 2007para. 2)

ASHE decried exclusion of students of color but excludes AA. Once more, AA in general and SEAA in particular were omitted and excluded from higher education policy and research, even from organizations that brand itself as a community of scholars who are committed to diversity, equity, and inclusion in higher education.

Furthermore, when AA and SEAA are part of student support and success discussions, the dialogue focuses on excluding them (Chiang & Agbayani, 2012, Museus, 2009). When administrators, faculty, and student affair professionals design and implement programs and services to support students, they explicitly and implicitly give the message and feeling to AA and SEAA college students that they do not belong in such programs and services and that they do not and should need the counseling, guidance, and support for achieving student success (Museus, 2014; Suzuki, 2002). Thus, one of the significances of this study is to include and amplify the voices of AA, specifically SEAA, at the table of professional higher education practitioners.

Expanding the Research on SCCT, SEAA, & Qualitative Research Method

Finally, my study will contribute to the literature on SCCT as it relates to SEAA college students. There is a paucity of literature on how SCCT relates to SEAA. Thus, a significance of my study is that it broadens the way in which researchers as well as practioners can use SCCT as a theoretical framework for studying SEAA college students.

Furthermore, the literatures that do apply SCCT to SEAA are quantitative studies. My student is a qualitative approach. Since the nature of qualitative methods is depth, the study will

use rich detail to understand the career development of SEAA college students. The study will extend the literature on using qualitative studies to examine the career development of SEAA college students.

Methodology

The qualitative research method is ideal for this study for several reasons. First, the nature of the research questions calls for a qualitative research approach because the questions center on understanding the meaning behind an understudied and misunderstood phenomeon and population (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Second, the philosophical orientation of qualitative research is ideal because the study centers on the experiences of individuals and privileges their viewpoints (Roberts, 2010). Third, since the study focuses on people's perspectives (e.g., perceptions, feelings, opinions, knowledge, actions, activities, behaviors interactions, situations), qualitative research is the appropriate method. If I am interested in numerical values instead of elements of reality, I would consider a quantitative approach. However, since I am pursuing an understanding of social relations that cannot be meaningfully quantified or operationalized, the qualitative research is more suitable (Maxwell, 2013; Roberts, 2010; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Indeed, one of the strengths of using the qualitative research method is its ability to extract details, which allows the researcher to study a phenomeon in a comprehensive manner (Atieno, 2009; Maxwell, 2013; Queirós, Aria, & Almeida, 2017). Fourth, contrary to the traditional thinking that only quantitative research methods can provide causal explanations, qualitative research methods are creditable in drawing casual relationships, especially social relationships (Maxwell, 2013). One of my interests in my study is an understanding of causality, influence, and impact. Fifth, understanding the meanings that individuals associate with the phenomenon requires the researcher to be "open to whatever

emerges" mindset (Roberts, 2010, p. 143). The qualitative research method offers flexibility in at least two ways. First, it provides the researcher with a variety of tools for collecting the data. These tools include observations, interviews, documents, and audiovisual materials for studying the phenomenon in a comprehensive manner (Creswell, 2013; Seidman, 2019). Second, it permits participants to take the researcher to information that they perceive is critical to their perception of the phenomenon. For instance, my deployed an abbreviated version of Seidman's (2019) three-interview series approach to phenomenological interviewing, and the interviews are semi-structured in order to provide flexibility to participants to guide me toward the essence of their lived experience. Finally, qualitative research method provides voice to marginalized population that are often neglected by research (Hays & Singh, 2012; Morrow, 2007). The voices of SEAA college students have long been understudied, underserved, and misunderstood in higher education policy, research, discourse, and practice (Museus, 2014; Takaki, 1998; Zhan, 2009).

Delimitations, Limitations, and Assumptions

Delimitations

The scope of this study is on SEAA college students who meet all of the following criteria: (1) are refugees or descendants of refugee families from Cambodia, Laos, and Cambodia who settled in the U.S. after 1975 as a result of the Vietnam War; (2) arrived in the U.S. between the age of 5 and 18 or were born in the U.S.; (3) completed at least two years of college or earned their college degree (bachelor's, master's, or doctoral) less than 12 months from their degree completion date; and (4) enrolled or graduated from a Texas institution of higher education. Finally, this study does not include students who self-identify as being on a student visa (e.g., F, J, M) in (U.S. Department of State, 2020).

Limitations

The limitation of this study involves the elements of time, space, distance, and dollars. First, time is a limitation because a strict adherence to the frequency and length of Seidman's (2019) three-interview series approach to phenomenological interviewing may be difficult to execute. Seidman's (2019) prescribed three interviews 90-minutes interviews. The intent of Seidman's approach was not only for building researcher-participant rapport but also for focusing the participants on the history of their life, the details of their lived experiences, and the meanings that they derived from their lived experiences. However, the frequency and length of Seidman's approach may have deterred individuals from committing in the study as well as completing it, especially if the time demand overtaxes their school, work, or life schedule and if the global COVID-19 pandemic during the interviews added to their fatigue.

Second, space is a limitation because Seidman's approach called for the researcher to place three days to a week in between interviews. The purpose of the spacing was to create a period for the participants to reflect so that they could provide the researcher with fuller, more detailed accounts of and meaning behind their lived experiences.

Third, since the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Texas at Austin forbid researchers from conducting face-to-face research during the pandemic, I had to use technological intermediaries (e.g., Zoom, e-mail, phone). Such intermediaries may have affected my ability to builder rapport with participants. Under non-pandemic circumstances, I would have at my disposal a more robust set of interpersonal communication tools at my disposal in order to build credibility and trust with participants.

Finally, the mixture of time, space, distance coupled with my limited access to funds for supporting the study forced me to limit the number of participants that I was able to bring into

the study. I offered each participant a gift card in return for volunteering their time for the study. I had extremely limited dollars in my piggy bank to pay for participants' time.

Assumptions

I am granted myself several assumptions that were relevant to the study . First, I was assuming that racial, ethnic, and cultural identity had a role in career development college students. My assumption was consistent with the findings from career development scholars (e.g., Byars-Winston, Estrada, Howard, Davis, & Zalapa, 2010; Fouad & Kantamneni, 2013; Dickinson, Abrams, and Tokar, 2017; Kim & Choi, 2018; Kantamneni, Dharmalingam, Orley, and Kanagasingam, 2018). Second, I was presuming that students from the Southeast Asian American ethnicities (e.g., Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, Vietnamese) identified with the "Asian American" (e.g., Cambodian American, Hmong American, Laotian American, Vietnamese American) racial identity. Finally, by selecting SCCT over other prominent theoretical frameworks (e.g., Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities in Work Environment, Super's Self-Concept Theory of Career Development), I was presupposing that external influences (e.g., resources, support, barriers) were had a role that was more impactful in the lives of participants than their personality (i.e., Holland's theory) or their self-concept (i.e., Super's theory) in their career development. This presumption aligned with career development scholars such as Brown and Lent (2017) and Duffy and Dik (2009).

Definitions

Several key terminologies were operationally important for this study. Definitions for them are as follow:

First-Generation Immigrants are refugees or immigrants who arrived in the U.S. at 13 years of age or older and who are parents or family members of 1.5- and 2nd-generations (Rumbaut, 1991; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

First-Generation College Students are individuals whose parents have not attained bachelor's or higher degree from a U.S. institution of higher education.

1.5-Generation are descendants of immigrants or refugees who arrived in the U.S. between 5 and 12 years of age and who grew up in the U.S. much of their adolescent and adult life (Rumbaut, 1991; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Second-Generation are descendants of immigrants or refugees who were born in the U.S. (Rumbaut, 1991; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Career Development is the process of forming academic and career interests, selecting career choices, and performing in career goal setting, persistence, and attainment.

Family Members are individuals who are siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, or grandparents. When clarity is necessary, this study will distinguish between *nuclear family* (e.g., brothers, sisters) members and extended family (e.g., cousins, aunts, uncles, or grandparents) members. Persons in the family member category does not include parents or serve in the role of parents; these individuals will have their own category.

Institutional agents are individuals who are formal members or representatives (e.g., faculty, teaching assistants, advisors, counselors, and administrators) of a college or university.

Model Minority Myth is the racial stereotype that all Asians by nature are successful in academics and careers; that they are able to achieve the "American Dream" by virtue of their work ethic and culture; and that no individuals in the Asian racial category need or should need educational, financial, or career assistance to achieve. Furthermore, non-Asian racial minorities, particularly Black and Latinx Americans, should model after Asians if they wish to achieve the American Dream because failure to do so is due to their work ethic and culture inherent among these groups and not because of systemic racism in the U.S., which is predominantly dominated by White Americans.

Parents are individuals who play the role of parents (i.e., mother, father), whether biological or not, for participants.

Peers are individuals who are neither parents nor family members but are associates (e.g., friends, classmates, colleagues, co-workers, mentors) who influence the academic, career, and social behaviors of the student.

Southeast Asian Americans (SEAA) refers to individuals who self-identify as having parents or family members who journeyed from Cambodia, Laos, or Vietnam to resettle in the U.S. as refugees. This definition of SEAA aligns with the Southeast Asian American Action Resource Center (SEARAC)'s 2017-2019 strategic plan:

> Southeast Asian Americans include people from dozens of diverse ethnic and language groups, including but not limited to:

- Cham, a Muslim minority group
- Khmer
- Khmer Loeu, or Highland Khmer
- Hmong
- Iu Mien or Mien
- Khmu
- Lao, otherwise referred to as Lao Loum or Lowland Lao
- Taidam
- Khmer Kampuchea Krom, or ethnic Khmer
- Montagnards, or Highlanders of several different ethnic groups
- Vietnamese

*Certain ethnic Chinese also have heritage in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.
(SEARAC, 2021)

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I provided the context of the study: SEAA migration and resettlement patterns are unique from other AA under the AA umbrella; SEAA college students are underrepresented and underserved by higher education policymakers, researchers, and practioners. And, I stated the problem: there is scarcity of literature, especially peer-reviewed studies, on the career development of AA college students in general and SEAA college students in particular; as a result, higher education researchers, policymakers, and practitioners have been underserving, ignoring, misunderstanding, and misrepresenting the needs of SEAA college students. Also, I shared the purpose of the student, the research questions, the theoretical framework—SCCT—and the significance of the study. Finally, I presented an overview of the methodology for the study and an explanation of the delimitations, limitations, key assumptions, and definitions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

In Chapter 2, I will review the literature that are relevant to this study. The literature review will be in eight sections: (1) description of literature search process; (2) explanation on the exigency of career development, especially as it relates to Asian American (AA) and Southeast Asian American (SEAA) college students; (3) exploration on the identity and history of Asians, AA, and SEAA; (5) examination of the connection between SEAA resettlement patterns and educational, economic, and employment attainment statistics; (6) discussion on the rarity of the literature on SEAA career development, particularly on the influences from the factors that are most relevant to this study's research questions: (a) parental, (b) familial, (c) peer parents, and (d) institutional agents; (7) explanation on how I arrived at the theoretical framework for this study; and (8) examination of the model minority myth (MMM) as it pertains to the career development of SEAA college students. The eighth section will be in three subunits: (a) MMM and career interest, choice, and performance of SEAA college students and (b) history of the MMM. Finally, I will summarize Chapter 2.

Literature Search Process

As I searched for the literature on SEAA college students, I narrowed my investigation to the studies that used Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT). My hope was to have a significant amount of literature to review; instead, my discovery was consistent with what many researchers on AA, particularly SEAA, college students experienced—there is a dearth of literature AA in general and SEAA college students in specific. For instance, in a query of the EBSCO (e.g., Education Source, Ed Admin Abstracts, ERIC, PsychINFO) database using the *Boolean/Phrase* function, *Scholarly (Peer Reviewed) Journals* limit, and *All Results* sources type and entering in

the *(college students OR university students) AND (Asian Americans*) AND (social cognitive career theory) AND (career development)* phrase, only 5 results returned: (1) Byras-Winston, Estrada, Howard, Davis, & Zalapa, (2) Hui & Lent, 2018, (3) Hui, Lent, & Miller, 2013, (4) Kantamneni, Dharmalingam, Orley, & Kanagasingam, 2018, and (5) Truong & Miller, 2018. Among these SCCT-related studies, only Truong & Miller's (2018) pertains to SEAA.

Furthermore, among the aforementioned literature, those that used qualitative methods were even more rare. In fact, from the EBSCO and the Universities Libraries queries that were related to SCCT and used a qualitative approach, zero (0) results returned. Thus, I resorted to reviewing either studies that were on AA college students in general or that had one or more college student participants who identified as Cambodian American, Hmong American, Laotian American, or Vietnamese Americans. Even among the studies that had AA and SEAA participants, few of the studies focused on the career development of American college students.

Career Development Exigency in American Higher Education

The idea that career development is crucial for the development of American college student is a not a new concept. As early as colonial America, colleges implemented career planning and development courses to influence the educational and career outcomes of students (Maverick, 1926). Among 21st century higher education stakeholders (e.g., students, parents, administrators, policymakers), there has been a renewed sense of urgency in understanding and providing college student career development. The reasons for urgency include the following: (1) the cost of college attendance has been rising, (2) the amount of college debt has been piling, (3) the duration and rate of college completion has been declining, and (4) the unemployment as well as underemployment of college graduates in the global labor market has been increasing (Bound, Lovenheim, & Turner, 2010; Okay-Somerville & Scholarios, 2014; Qenani,

MacDougall, & Sexton, 2014). Studies suggested that career development of college students played a critical role in mitigating and addressing the exigencies of present-day postsecondary education. According to empirical research, career development support has had the affect college students in the following ways: (1) satisfaction with their academic major, (2) persistence and completion of their college degree, and (3) obtainment of employment but also students' (4) maintenance of their mental health and well-being (Allen & Robbins, 2008; Martin Lohfink & Paulsen, 2005; White and Perrone-McGovern, 2017; Komarraju, Swanson, & Nadler, 2014; Tate, Fouad, Marks, Young, Guzman, and Williams, 2015).

For instance, Dennis, Phinney, and Chuateco's (2005) longitudinal study on 100 ethnic minority first-generation college students found that career motivation was a strong predictor of college student outcomes (e.g., college adjustment, commitment, grade point average, completion). Ashraf, Godbey, Shrikhande, and Widman's (2018) research indicated that the earlier students chose an academic major and comprehended the connection between their courses and their career, the earlier and likelier they were to complete their college degree. Additionally, Hull-Banks, Kurpius, Befort, Sollenberger, Nicpon, and Huser's (2005) study revealed that freshmen in their first semester who did not identify with a career goal were less likely to persist. Finally, a multitude of studies showed that positive college student performances in college contributed to students' employability, sense of purpose, and mental wellness (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018; Chickering & Reisser, 1993; Tate et al., 2015). Consequently, all students can benefit from career development. But not all students receive equitably programming and services in career development. AA college students in general and SEAA in particular have historically been neglected from career development programs and

services because they have been historically omitted and excluded from higher education research, discourse, and practices.

Career Development & AA College Student

According to a study by Mau (2004), more AA college students than White and Hispanic American college students reported encountering difficulties before the career decision-making process. And, more AA than White and African American students admitted to having challenges during the career decision-making process. This echoed Leong & Serafica's (1995) earlier study that revealed that AA college students had a high level of need for career development support. Before Leong & Serafica's (1995) study, Gallup's National Career Development Association found that 71 percent of AA indicated that, if they had to start over in college, they would have wanted more career development information. In the same poll, 37 percent of AA reported that they were more than White Americans (21 percent), African Americans (19 percent) or Hispanic Americans (15 percent) to use information from career services centers. However, while 88 percent of African Americans found that information in career services centers useful, only percent of AA considered information from career services centers to be useful to them (Brown, Minor, & Jepsen, 1991). Finally, as early as 1980, 34 percent of Asian Americans communicated on their Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) that they had planned to access career development support upon entering college. This was 4 percentage points more than Hispanic Americans; 7 percentage points more than White Americans; and 10 percentage points more than African Americans (College Entrance Examination Board, 1980).

Yet, despite the rapid growth in the undergraduate and graduate AA student populations; the extreme dearth of literature on AA college students in general and SEAA college students in particular; the concrete absence of a career development model focused on AA or SEAA college

students; the dire urgency of the issues facing contemporary higher education stakeholders; and the explicit call from AA college students for higher education institutions to support their career development, few higher education policymakers, researchers, and practioners have focused their attention on AA in general and SEAA in specific. One reason for this situation may be because of people in position of responsibility and authority in higher education are unaware the identity of AA and SEAA in context of U.S. history.

Asians, Asian Americans, and Southeast Asian Americans—Who Are They?

In this section, I will locate the identity and history of SEAA by putting SEAA in context of the terms "Asians" and "Asian Americans." I will achieve this by exploring the migration patterns of the more populous AA ethnicities that arrived on U.S. shores prior to 1975 and by discussing the Asian racial category in the U.S. Census. Then, I will review the geopolitical history, migration, and resettlement patterns of SEAA ethnicities. Finally, I will trace the connection between SEAA resettlement patterns to explain the economic, employment, and educational attainment statistics.

"Asians"

"Asians" have been on the shores of the Americas since 1565. At that time, peoples from the continent of Asia arrived in Acapulco, Mexico as sailors, servants, and slaves (Lee, 2015). By the mid-1800s, they came to the U.S. as indentured servants along alongside with European immigrants (Takaki, 1998). Until 1975, the majority of immigrants arriving in the U.S. from Asia came for economic reasons; they came as voluntary laborers even though they worked under an oppressive contract-labor system or abusive labor system in the U.S. (Takaki, 1998). Prior to the surge of the laborers from Asian, the U.S. had relied on the backs of African American slaves.

Chinese migration. In 1835, even before Hawaii became part of the U.S., Chinese labor was in Hawaii. In 1848, the U.S. passed legislation to import Chinese labor for construction of the first transcontinental railroad. By 1851, their numbers increased and the majority of them migrated to the U.S. to improve theirs and their family's standard of living and wealth by searching for gold in the mountains of California (Takaki, 1998). By 1869, they were the labor force of the Central Pacific Railroad company. The Central Pacific Railroad construction was possible only because of Chinese labor and lives, but though one would not know it by viewing the historic photograph at Promontory Point, Utah, which was the location where the railheads of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific railheads connected the West Coast to East Coast America. According to Takaki, a witness of that historic moment reported that White Americans were brought in at the final moment to take credit for the achievement that Chinese and Irish laborers:

> One fact…forcibly impressed me at the laying of the last nail. Two lengths of rails, fifty-six feet, had been omitted. The Union Pacific people brought up their pair of rails, and the work of placing them was done by Europeans. The Central Pacific people then laid their pair of rails, the labor being performed by Mongolians. The foreman, in both cases, were Americans. Here, near the center of the American Continent, were the united efforts of representatives of the continents of Europe, Asian, and America—America directing and controlling.
> (qtd. in Takaki, 1998, p. 87)

At the time of the photograph, the U.S. did not consider Irish be White Americans (Ignatiev, 2012). Chinese immigrants have had a storied history in the U.S., but their contribution to American society have often been purposely omitted from American historical artifacts and text.

Japanese migration. Even before Chinese laborers prepared for the laying of the final railheads at Promontory Point, the U.S. had already singled them out for exclusion. In 1862, the U.S. passed the Chinese Exclusion Act. Then, the U.S. turned to Japanese for its source of cheap

labor. In 1888, Japanese labor was shipped into the U.S. for work in agriculture, especially on farms in California. Three years earlier, Japanese laborers were in Hawaii as contract laborers. By 1894, additional Japanese laborers arrived as part of a contract labor program that the Japanese government sponsored. Japanese migrants voluntarily participated in these programs in hope of changing theirs and their family's fortunes . By 1924, at least 180,000 were on mainland of the U.S. By the 1900s, the Japanese in the U.S. outgrew the Chinese population in the U.S. (Takaki, 1998). Although the U.S. did not have a "Japanese Exclusion Act," it had established the Asiatic Exclusion League in order "to minimize the immigration of Asiatic to America' because of fear from White Americans of Japanese labor competition (qtd. in Takaki, 1998, on pg. 201).

Korean migration. Prior to the 1900s, Korean laborers were on plantations in Hawaii. As early as 1906, Korean laborers were in Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming. While many migrated to the U.S. for labor opportunities in coal mines, railroads, and fisheries, many were escaping Japanese colonials in their native land and hoping to resettle in the U.S. But in 1913, the U.S. passed the Alien Land Act, which prohibited Koreans immigrants from leasing land and owning land in California or becoming naturalized U.S. citizens. This legislation targeted Japanese, and Asian Indian immigrants (Takaki, 1998).

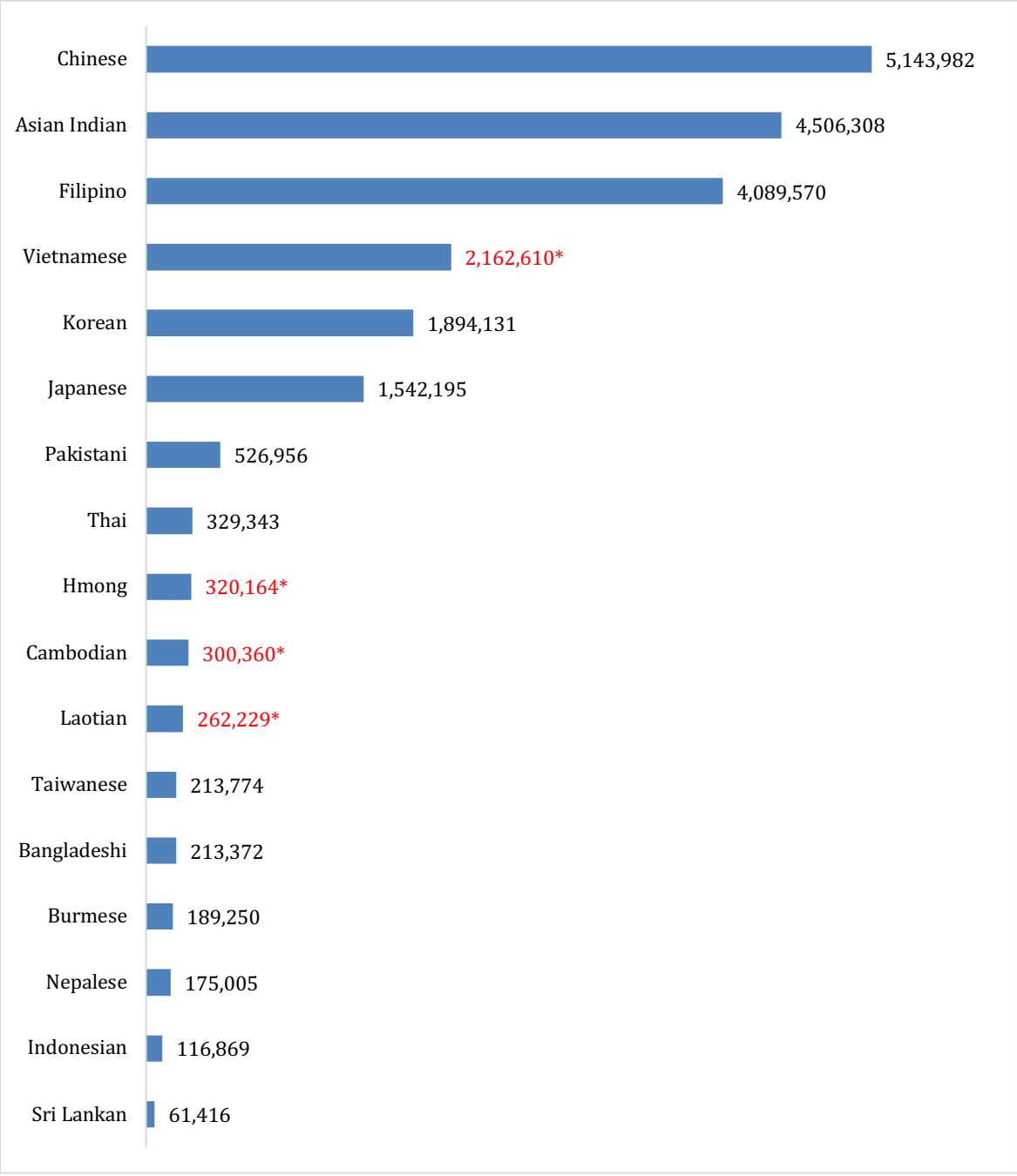
Asian Indian migration. In 1904, Asian Indian migrated to the U.S. to work as lumber and the agriculture laborers. In 1920, most of the 6,400 were Silks and about 30 percent of Asian Indians were Muslims. But, due to the 1924 Immigration Act, which imposed a quota on immigrants from Italy, Greece, and Eastern Europe but prohibited immigrants who are ineligible to be naturalized citizens (Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Asian Indians), Asian Indian immigration sharply declined. By 1940, the Asian Indian population dwindled to 2,405 (Takaki, 1998).

Filipino migration. Filipino migrants first arrived in the early 1900s as laborers on the plantations in Hawaii. In 1910, there were only 406 Filipinos on the U.S. mainland. By 1920, that number increased to 5,603. By 1940, it strengthened to 45,208. In the 1930s, Filipinos worked mostly as laborers in the (Takaki, 1998). Takaki (1998) noted that "Unlike the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans, Filipino migrants came from a territory of the United States" (p. 57). Regardless of their geopolitical connection with the U.S., they faced similar racial discrimination and employment segregation, which isolated them to mainly domestic service, hospitality service, and fishery industry as early as the 1930s.

Asian American Population

As of 2018, 5.2 million individuals in the U.S. identified as Asians. Figure 2.1 is a reproduction of the 2018 American Community Survey on the Asian population. It reflects the more populous ethnicities under the Asian umbrella (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020):

Figure 2.10 Asian Population by Ethnicity



Source: 2018 American Community Survey, 1-Year Estimates, Table B02018: Asian Alone or in Any Combination and Table B02019: Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Alone or in Any Combination<www.census.gov/acs

* indicates SEAA Ethnicities

Chinese Americans represented the most populous ethnicity under the Asian racial category. While the Vietnamese Americans are the fourth most populous ethnicity under the Asian umbrella, their educational, socioeconomic, and employment attainment data are more similar to Cambodian Americans, Hmong Americans, and Laotian Americans. I will examine this phenomeon in Chapter 2.

"Asian" or "Asian alone" and U.S. Census

In 1900, if a person was a descendant from the continent of Asia, only two options were available for them to self-identify on the U.S. Census: "Chinese" or "Japanese." In 1977, the White House's Office of Management and Budget, which determined the racial category of the U.S. Census Bureau, issued Directive 17, which recorded Chinese, Filipino, Korean, South Asian, and Southeast Asian as one "Asian/Pacific Islander American" racial category. And, Directive 15 dictated that it reported the data as one Asian/Pacific Islander (King, 2000). Even though the U.S. Census have been collecting ethnicity specific data since the 1970s, Directive 15 instructed the U.S. Census to aggregate Asian American data in its official reports. Consequently, it had been collecting Cambodian American, Hmong American, Laotian American, and Vietnamese American specific data but had been reporting the data simply as "Asian alone" (King, 2000). Thus, the U.S. Census in 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s lumped at least 56 ethnicities in one racial construct; and, it reported its findings in one aggregated racial category, "Asian/Pacific Islander" (Barringer, Gardner, & Levin, 1993; King, 2000; Teranishi, 2010).

Leading up to the 2000 U.S. Census, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander groups successfully advocated for the creation of a new "Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders" racial category, which defined this racial construct as "person[s] having origins in any of the

original peoples of Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, or other Pacific Islands" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018, para. 6). According to King (2000), the intention among the advocates for the creation of the NHPI category was to increase the media and community attention for NHPI groups so they "get needed health and economic attention that they deserve" because NHPI groups "couldn't accurately be made visible by lumping Asian and Pacific Islander together" (p. 197). Their goal was to show that NHPI groups experienced disparities similar to their "Native Americans/Alaskan Natives" counterparts (King, 2000).

There advocacy was successful, and the 2000 Census separated the "Pacific Islander" from the "Asian/Pacific Islander American" racial category and created the "Asian alone" category. The standalone category which continued with the 2010 and the 2020 U.S. Census. However, the "Asian" construction lumped least 25 distinct peoples under one racial umbrella (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012; Teranishi, 2010).

The current U.S. Census defines "Asian" as "a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent, including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam" (USCB, 2018; 2020, para. 5). By this definition, Asian Americans come from descendants of at least 30 percent of the landmasses on Earth. Figure 2.2 provides a visualization of this definition:

Figure 2.11

"Asian" According to the U.S. Census Bureau

Source: Image Adapted from Google Map (2019)

The red-dotted line on Figure 2.11 represents the part of the Earth that the U.S. Census Bureau defines as "Asia". That is, the U.S. Census Bureau regards Americans as people whose descendants are from the landmasses and islands within the red-dotted line. Figure 2.11 illustrates what Takaki (1998) and Museus (2014) considered as the absurdity of lumping peoples from two large landmasses and multitude of islands that cover almost 30 percent of the landmasses on Earth and constitute approximately 60 percent of the world's population into one racial category (National Geographic, 2019).

Why would the U.S. government lump peoples from such large land masses, islands, and bodies of water under one Asian racial category? What meaning, if any, would peoples coming from those areas of the world find in such a grouping? Takaki (1998) had a response:

> There are no Asians in Asia, only national identities, such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indian, Vietnamese, and Filipino. But on this side of the Pacific there are Asian Americans. This broader identity was forced in the crucible of racial discrimination and exclusion: their national origins did not matter as much as their race. Thus, out of "necessity," theirs became a community rooted in the struggle against racism (p. 502).

Takaki reminded readers of the diversity of ethnicities within the Asian American umbrella. He pointed out the complication of aggregating diverse peoples who are descendants from two large continents and multiple bodies of water into one oversimplified, massive racial construction. This racial lump ignored the "multiplicity" of ethnicity within and across the great landmasses and islands of Asia and India (Takaki, p. 502). For example, once the first wave of immigrants arrived on the shores of the U.S. in the mid-19th century, the U.S. government lumped immigrants from Asia and Indian continents and islands into one "Asian" race simply because these peoples were visibility and culturally different from Whites (Takaki, 1998). Otherwise, there is not a scientific, ethnic, or cultural reason to use the "Asian" or "Asian alone" designation. According to Museus and Takaki, race and racial categories were mere constructs that came out of the imagination and fear of the powers that be—Whites—in the U.S. And, Takaki reiterated that the term "Asian American" has to be understood in terms of its relationship to the Civil Rights Movement.

"Asian Americans"

"Asian" is a racial construct that White Americans invented. Museus (2014) observed, "Whereas race has to do with how society socially categorizes people based on heredity skin color and physical traits, ethnicity refers to a social identify that is based on historical nationally or tribal group identity" (p. 6). While race is a social construct based upon superficial (e.g., physical appearances) attributes, ethnicity is a social identity that is grounded in historical and social context. On the other hand, the term "Asian American" nomenclature is a construct by

Asians for solidarity with the other oppressed people of color in the U.S. The Asian American term rose out of the civil rebellion in the 1960s against racial segregation and discrimination in the U.S. (Museus, 2014). Specifically, it originated from those who found solidarity with other peoples of color, particularly Blacks and Latinx, who Asian Americans fought beside during the Civil Rights Movement (Takaki, 1998). During the Civil Rights Movement, Asian college students in America forged this Asian American identity out of their solidarity with other people of color. In the struggle against racial discrimination and oppression and for political power, Asian students demanded colleges and universities to implement "Asian American" studies. Consequently, the pan-ethnic Asian American identity grew out of 'necessity' (Takaki, 1998). And, many Asian American activists consider the Asian American term to be "a political label and not a racial one" (King, 2000, p. 192). According to Museus (2014), the majority White Americans created and normalized the use of the Asian racial category in order to segregate and discriminate against the 'other' non-Whites in the U.S. Thus, lumping descendants from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam into a racial category called "Asian" on the U.S. Census is more a reflection of constructed institutional racism, racial hierarchy, and White Supremacy than facts grounded in science, culture, or migration and resettlement patterns (King, 2000; Museus, 2014; Takaki, 1998).

"Southeast Asian Americans"

SEAA ethnicities came both "from a different shore" and from geopolitical circumstances, migration patterns, and resettlement conditions that were unique from many of the ethnicities that are under the Asian racial umbrella, (Takaki, 1998). The majority of the ethnicities aggregated in the Asian racial category, such as Asian Indian Americans, Chinese Americans, Filipino Americans, Korean Americans, Japanese Americans, were voluntary immigrants who planned to come to the U.S. to test their fortunes against a race-based social, culturally, and economic system. On the other hand, the waves of immigrants that came from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam arrived in the U.S. as unexpected refugees or involuntary immigrants. According to Takaki (1998), "The refugees had no time to prepare psychologically or departure; more than half of the refugees later said they were given less than ten hours" (p. 451). They had to leave because they were "pushed by 'necessity'" by "powerful in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam that turned them into refugees (Takaki,1998, p. 448). Prior to their arrival in America, their modern story started with nearly 100 years of French colonialism.

French Colonialism and Consequences in Southeast Asia

Southeast Asian Americans are descendants of peoples in lands located in the Southeastern region of the continent of Asia. The Southeast Asian region consists of at least10 countries and contains "enormous social, economic, and political diversity, both across and within countries, shaped by its history, geography, and position as a major crossroad" (Chongsuvivatwong, Phua, Yap, Pocock, Hashim, Chhem,. . . Lopez, 2001, p. 695). Among the countries in Southeast Asia, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam shared a common modern history despite the fact that they had been in and out of peace, conflicts, and wars with one another since antiquity (Taylor, 2013). From 1859 to 1954, France subjugated peoples in these lands and

turned their lands into French colonies. Western colonialists referred to them collectively as Indochina (Firpo, 2010; Janse, 1944; Jennings, 2001, 2012; Gainsborough, 2012; Lancaster, 1961; Zinoman, 2000). For almost 100 years, the French were economically, religiously, and cultural exploiting peoples in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Rudyard Kipling, the English author of the *1894 The Jungle Book*, etched the justification for Western colonization of people of color on Earth:

> Take up the White Man's burden,
> Send forth the best ye breed,
> Go bind your sons to exile,
> To serve your captives' needs
> (qtd. in Lam, 2003, p. 67)

The above stanza reproduced the French colonialists' claim that their mission in Indochina was to liberate peoples who they considered to be primitive and uncivilized culturally, technologically, and religiously (Lam, 2003). As Kipling's final line in the above stanza suggested, he and his White Man counterparts believe that the subjugation, enslavement, and genocide of peoples native to in this region was necessary for the good of non-White Man (Lam, 2003). However, nationalists in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam did not experience the French as liberators but slaveowners, profiteers, racists, and invaders (Hoang, 1964; Phan, 1999; Phan, 2009). In response to colonialism, peoples in this region went to war against the French as well as each other in order to be free of oppression and slavery.

Wars in French Indochina

Although I hesitated to use the term "Indochina Wars" because "Indochina" is a moniker that Western colonists gave to Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, I choose to use it in order to give context to the term, "Vietnam War," which a is designation that American historians have used to refer to the period that the U.S. was officially involved in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam between 1965 and 1973. In addition, I use "Indochina Wars" in order to emphasize that the peoples experiencing these social and political events included those from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam and involved more than the Vietnam landscape. The purpose of providing a brief exploration of the Indochina Wars is to highlight the similar or common lived experiences among peoples who survived in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam during these times and to trace their relationship to U.S. history, including the journeys of these peoples in becoming Americans.

First Indochina War

Between 1945 to 1954, a coalition of Vietnamese nationalists, with the communists Viet Minh forces are the majority faction, fought France when it returned to Indochina to recapture its former colonial glory. After France survived its existential struggle against Nazi Germany during World War II, it returned Indochina to subjugate peoples in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam (Shaw, 2015; Taylor 2013, 2014). The First Indochina War ended with the defeat of French forces at the Battle of Điện Biên Phủ in 1954. Shortly afterwards, France withdrew from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. With the political vacuum, these countries descended into civil wars. Some historians refer to this period as the Second Indochina War. Many U.S. popular media and historians refer to it as the "Vietnam War" (Miller & Vu, 2009; Taylor, 2013).

Second Indochina War: "Vietnam War"

In the Second Indochina War, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam were key to the U.S. and their allies' strategies for containing the international spread of communism, which was anchored by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) and their allies in Southeast Asia (Hannah, 1987; Taylor, 2013, 2014)

In Vietnam. During this period, Vietnam was divided into North Vietnam (Democratic Republic of Vietnam) and South Vietnam (Republic of Vietnam). Communists North Vietnam, with its former Viet Minh agents in the South known as the Viet Cong, fought South Vietnamese who attempted to create a nation that was neither communistic nor colonialistic but nationalistic. On one side was the Vietnamese communists; they initially allied themselves with the PRC and later relied on the USSR. On the other side, the anticommunists Vietnamese partnered with the U.S. and their allies (Goscha, 2010; Luận, 2012; Miller & Vu, 2009). In the midst of the Cold War, Vietnam became the most visible theater of conflict between the U.S.S.R. and U.S. superpowers to fight a proxy war (Shaw, 2015; Taylor, 2013).

In Laos. In Laos, the communist Pathet Laos fought the Royal Lao government who allied with the U.S. The Pathet Laos, which meant "Lao Nation." However, it was the creation of North Vietnam, specifically General Vo Nguyen Giap (Shaw, 2015). According to Southeast Asia military historian Shaw (2015), Giap was "one of the most important military and political leader in North Vietnam after Ho Chi Minh" (p. 87). Although Laos was a strategic asset, on paper it was a neutral nation in the war (Hannah, 1987). The 1962 International Conference on the Settlement of the Laotian Question in Geneva, Switzerland established that the U.S. and

North Vietnam would recognize that Laos was neutral. But, North Vietnamese troops along with its Pathet Laos guerillas remained in Laos, which harbored the "Ho Chi Minh Trail"— a system of routes that bypassed the neutral status of Laos and fed weapons, supplies, and forces for the North Vietnamese Army's invasion of South Vietnam (Taylor, 2013). The Ho Chi Minh Trail not only gave communist forces invasion paths into South Vietnam but also granted control over the Mekong Lowlands in Laos where communist forces could access Thailand and Cambodia (Shaw, 2015). Thus, Laos was a strategic linchpin in the Second Indochina War because control over Laos meant access to north-to-south invasion routes along the South Vietnam border (Hannah, 1987). To neutralize the Ho Chi Minh Trail, South Vietnam and the U.S. responded by heavily and secretly relying on the Hmong peoples to fight the communist forces in Laos. It employed Hmong peoples to fight the war in Laos alongside the Royal Lao government and in place of U.S. troops (Made, 2017, Ng, 2008, Pfeifer, 2013). This resulted in an exorbitantly high Hmong fatalities, solders as well as civilians, which meant that the U.S. was able to save the lives of American soldiers and minimalized Americans casualties in Laos to special forces (Made, 2017, Ng, 2008, Pfeifer, 2013).

In Cambodia. Less well-known than the Ho Chi Minh Trail was the Sihanouk Trail in Cambodia, which in 1966 moved at least 40 trucks a day of weapons and between 5,500 and 7,000 a month of soldiers for North Vietnam to infiltrate South Vietnam (Sheehan, 1998; Time, 1966). The Sihanouk Trails inherited its name from the Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the hereditary leader of Cambodia, who provided a safe haven for the North Vietnamese Army and their Viet Cong forces to launch operations (Sheehan, 1998; Time, 1966). This situation persisted throughout the Second Indochina War even though Cambodia, like Laos, was "neutral" (Shaw;

2015; Sheehan, 1998; Time, 1966). Later, Lon Nol, who was Sihanouk's prime minister and who opposed North Vietnam's use of Cambodia as bases supply depots and launching pads, overthrew Sihanouk (Taylor, 2013). Lon Nol received supplies and support from the U.S. military throughout the Second Indochina War. In an attempt to regain power, Sihanouk sided with the Cambodian communist movement, the Khmer Rouge (Sheehan, 1998). Like the Pathet Laos, North Vietnam created and supplied the Khmer Rouge in order to help it fight Lon Nol's forces and maintain its flow of arms and soldiers into South Vietnam(Taylor, 2013, Sheehan, 1988). It is not a coincident that Sihanouk referred to the Khmer Rouge as the "Khmer Vietminh" (Anderson, p. 366). Unlike the Pathet Laos, North Vietnam lost control of its communist creation after the Khmer Rouge guerillas under the leadership of Pol Pot turned to China, instead of Vietnam, for its weapons and support. In 1979, long after the Khmer Rouge had turned on its own people and plunged Cambodia into genocidal nightmare, it turned on the North Vietnamese.

Although popular media portrays the Second Indochina as one that was located merely Vietnam, the political, military, and social reality was that the theater of war was Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. The tentacles of the U.S. military and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) reached deep into the lives, cities, and jungles of the people living and fighting in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. By 1972, the U.S. military and CIA began to abandon their allies in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, and left only their advisors and air support (Taylor, 2013, 2014; Wiest, 2008). Many of the U.S. allies, particularly former heads of state and military leaders and soldiers from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, believed that their U.S. Super Power ally had abandoned them to the fate of the Communists and their Super Power allies (Luận, 2012;

Nguyễn, 1978; Xiong, 2016; Taylor, 2013, 2014; Wiest, 2009). Some Western critics of the U.S. foreign policy compared the U.S. military's "abandonment" or "selling out" of its allies in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam to the 2019 U.S. abandonment of its Kurdish allies in Syria (Jones, 2019; Newsham, 2019).

Third Indochina War. The end of the Second Indochina War brought new killings and wars in the region. In Cambodia, the communist Khmer Rouge regime orchestrated a genocide that saw 1.5 to 2 million Cambodians killed between 1975 and 1979 (Hughes, 2015; Ung, 2006). In Laos, the communist Pathet Laos government imprisoned and executed Laotians from the lowlands and Hmong peoples from the highlands for aiding the U.S. military in its efforts to neutralize communist Laotian and Vietnamese that incubated the Ho Chi Minh Trail. In Vietnam, the new communist Socialist Republic of Vietnam state starved, imprisoned, and executed over a million people in the former South Vietnam through social and economic exclusion, land reforms, and "reeducation" or labor or concentration camps (Nguyen, 2012; Taylor, 2013).

Southeast Asian Migration

The end of the Second Indochina War marked the first mass exodus out of former French Indochina and into Western countries (Nguyen, 2012; Takaki, 1998; Yau, 2005; Vue, 2015, Xiong, 2016). The second mass exodus came in 1979 with the Third Indochina War as the communist countries fought among each other, furthering the killings and exasperated the famine from decades of destruction of life and land. In Vietnam, China invaded the new Socialist Republic of Vietnam. In Cambodia, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam invaded the new Khmer Rouge government under Pol Pot and did not leave Cambodia until 1989. In Laos, the Pathet Laos hunted and pushed the Hmong peoples deeper into the jungles. As late as 2010, the remaining Hmong forces in Laos continued to resist the communist government that sought to exterminate its soldiers and families (Taylor, 2013; Yau, 2005; Vue, 2015).

In light of the geopolitical history and migration and resettlement pattern of peoples from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, researchers often grouped peoples from these former French colonies into one unit for research and analysis (Gainsborough, 2012; Xiong, 2016). Unlike the other Asians under the Asian umbrella, the majority of SEAA who came to the U.S. after 1975 did not immigrate to the U.S. by choice. Instead, they were refugees or children of refugees. They were escaping persecution, imprisonments, and killings because of their association or perceived association with the U.S. Consequently, the political and historical relationship between SEAA and America has also been unique from East Asian Americans and South Asian Americans under the Asian racial classification (Xiong, 2016).

Involuntary Immigrants

SEAA, particularly between 1975 and the 1990s, did not have a genuine choice for them and their family, and many came to the U.S. with hopes of to being able to return and rebuild their native land. They eventually adopted America as their homeland. As result of the U.S. being in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, SEAA are in the U.S. The alliances between the anti-Communists and the U.S. military had placed civil servants, soldiers, and civilians who fought against the Communists in life-or-death situations where the only real post-war choice was self-exile. The reason for the bulk of SEAA and their families for being in the U.S. was noted in the words of one protest poster during a rally against the U.S. President Donald Trump administration's policy of deporting SEAA refugees back to Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam: "We are here because you were there!" (SEARAC, 2020; Do, 2018). That is, many SEAA are living here in the U.S. because the U.S. was there in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam fighting alongside them in their native land and under one flag.

SEAA Immigration Patterns

As a result of the U.S. involvement in the former French Indochina colonies, much of the AA population growth over the last 40 years has been due to immigration from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, making SEAA the fastest growing ethnic group in the U.S. (Chung & Bemak, 2006; U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017; Wright & Buon, 2011). Prior to 1975, there was not a pattern of immigration from Southeast Asia to the U.S (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017). Between 1820 and 1950, the U.S. Census did not have records of individuals from Cambodia, Laos, or Vietnam (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017). The first recorded individuals from a Southeast Asian country appeared on record in 1951.

Between1951 and 1960, there were 335 Vietnamese in the U.S. (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017). In 1964, there were 603 Vietnamese (Takaki, 1998). Between 1961 and 1970, there were 4,340 Vietnamese (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017). These pre-1975 arrivals were diplomats, military personnel, educators, and students from Vietnam (Luan, 2012; Takaki, 1998; Taylor, 2014). Prior to 1975, there were no records of individuals from Cambodia and Laos in the U.S.

By 2017, close to 3.5 million Americans self-identified as descendants from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). The diverse refugee waves out of Southeast Asia provide researchers with a glimpse of how their resettlement experience affected their pre- and post-secondary education and career development . Furthermore, understanding the diverse waves offers an idea on how the experiences of these SEAA college students differ from other ethnicities under the AA umbrella. The classification of the timeline and arrival counts may vary among researchers; but, in general, the migration pattern of SEAA have generally been understood in terms of immigration waves. Each wave differs in background which affects their educational and economic attainment experiences (e.g., Ngo & Lee, 2007; Sakamoto & Woo, 2007; Wong, Kinzie, & Kinzie, 2008; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

First Wave (1975)

On April 17, 1975, U.S. President Gerald Ford authorized a one-time resettlement of 130,400 refugees from Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). This first wave of refugees were Vietnamese with "social clout, such as political leaders, educated professionals, and the wealthy" (Liu, Murakami, Eap, & Hall, 2009, p. 19) who were "highly educated, skilled, and urbanized" (Haines, 1987; Wong et al., 2009, p. 442). Museus (2013b) suggested that one of the reasons why Vietnamese Americans had a higher educational attainment rate than

Cambodians, Hmong, and Laotian in the U.S. was because of the socioeconomic and educational background of the Vietnamese professionals and their families in the first wave.

Second Wave (1976-1985)

Between 1976 and 1985, over 600,000 Southeast Asians arrived in the United States (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2017). Refugees in the second wave were much more diverse in terms of education, social and financial capital, and migration means. Instead of using airlifts to escape to safety, these refugees left Cambodia, Laos, or Vietnam through the jungles of Thailand or by boat pirate infested waters. These refugees faced political persecution and genocide after they were not able to leave or did not have the means to leave with the first wave. They were less educated and came from agrarian and fishing backgrounds and were less proficient in English and versed in Western and American culture (Kitano & Daniels, 1995; Liu, Murakami, Eap, & Hall, 2009; Wong et al., 2008).

Third Wave (1986-1999)

The third wave of refugees consisted of civilian and military prisoners of war and Amerasian children, orphans, and their families. This wave included children of American servicemen and Vietnamese women.

Recent Arrivals

As of 1998, the majority of SEAA migration to the U.S. have been through family and employer sponsorship (SEARAC, 2021). However, the largest wave of refugees among SEAA in the post-Cold War era was in 2004 when over 15,000 Hmongs from temporary sites in Thailand were resettled in the U.S. (Yau, 2005). This wave was in response to the Thai government's move to deport Hmongs from makeshift camps that the Thai government had deemed "illegal". It was also at the time when the Laos government's increased efforts to

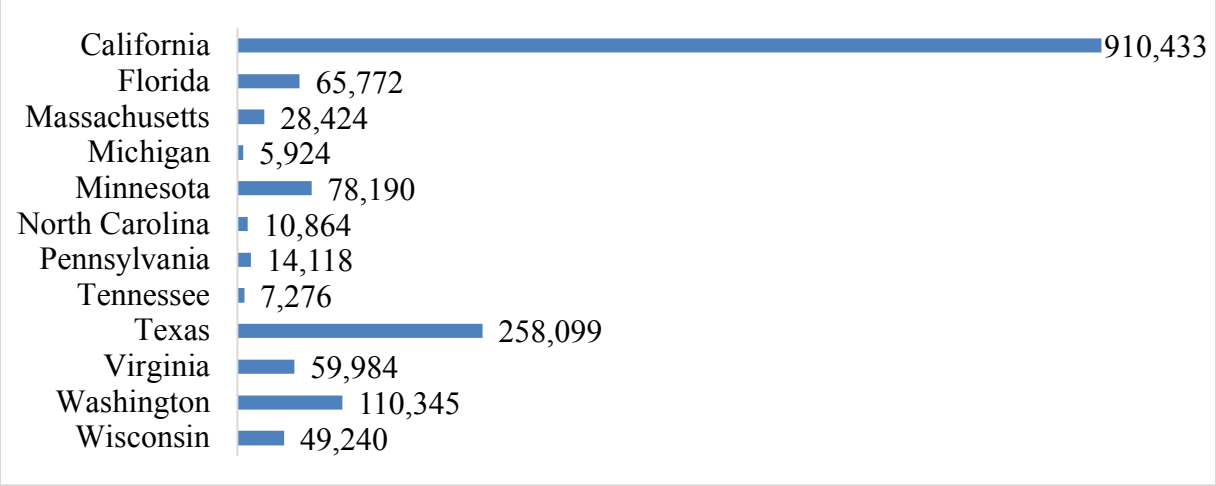
exterminate the remaining Hmong soldiers and families who they considered as siding with the U.S. military during the Vietnam War (Made, 2017; Underrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization [UNPO], 2018; United Nations News Centre, 2007).

Resettlement Patterns

In 2021, 60 percent of SEAA were not born in the U.S. This percentage closely mirrors the overall Asian American percentage (SEARAC, 2021). As of 2010, California had the largest SEAA population. Figure 2.12 illustrates states with a large number of SEAA (SEARAC, 2021).

Figure 2.12

States with Largest SEAA Population

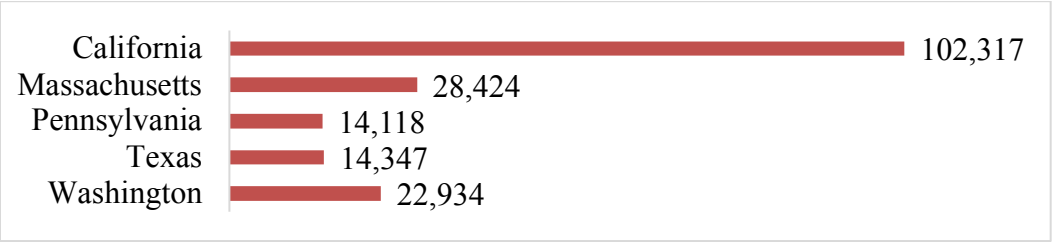


While Figure 2.12 shows overall SEAA population, Figure 2.13 displays the five states with the greatest number for each SEAA ethnicity:

Figure 2.13 (a), (b), (c), (d)

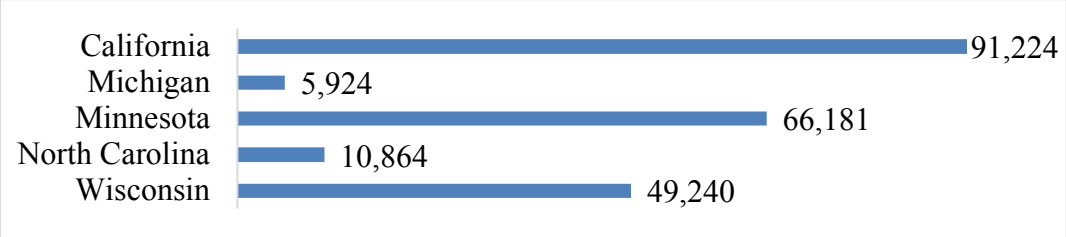
Top-5 States with Largest SEAA Population by Ethnicity, 2010

(a) Cambodian Americans



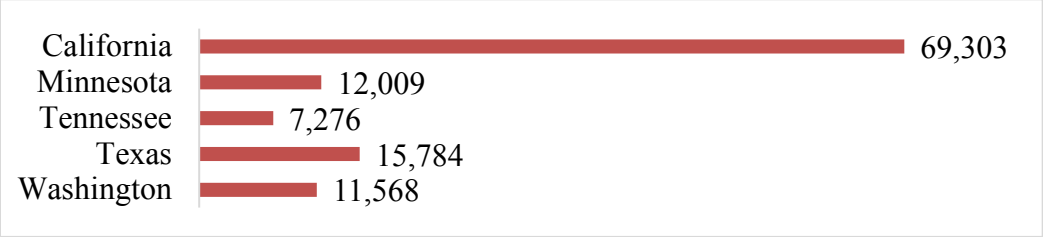
Source: SEARAC, 2021

(b) Hmong Americans



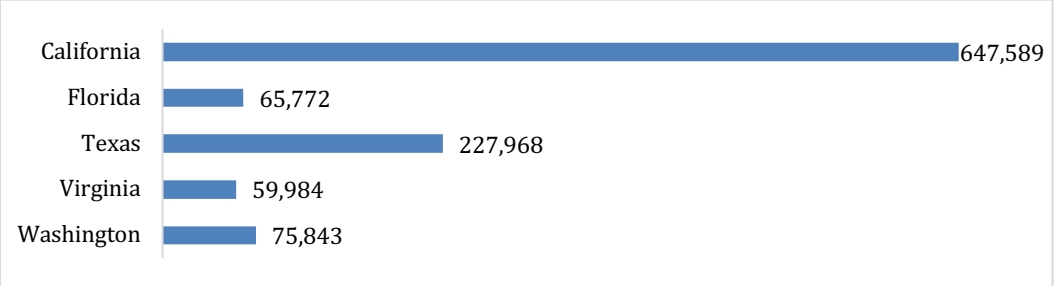
Source: SEARAC, 2021

(c) Laotian Americans



Source: SEARAC, 2021

(d) Vietnamese Americans



Source: SEARAC, 2021

SEAA Resettlement Patterns & Consequences

Uy (2016) and Uy, Kim, and Khuon (2019) argued that the immigration and resettlement history and pattern of SEAA differentiates them from other immigrants under the Asian umbrella. Sakamoto and Woo (2007) concurred:

> Although there are other groups that are sometimes classified as Southeast Asian (e.g., Thai, Malaysians, Indonesians, Singaporeans), we focus on Cambodians, Hmong, Laotians, and Vietnamese because they are generally viewed as having the most disadvantaged socioeconomic statuses. Their lower attainments are usually believed to be associated with the historical circumstances of their initial migration streams to the United States. Cambodians, Hmong, Laotians, and Vietnamese are among the most recent of Asian American groups whose initial arrival in the United States occurred mainly as refugees associated with the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War. (p. 45).

As a consequence of their history and resettlement patterns, many researchers view Cambodian Americans, Hmong Americans, Laotian Americans, and Vietnamese Americans as a SEAA unit for research and analysis.

The U.S. government resettled the majority of SEAA in urban locations characterized by a high level of crimes and a low level of well-resourced schools (Chan, 2004; Uba, 1994; Uy, 2016; Uy et al. 2019). Ngo and Lee (2007) summarized the effects of the migration waves and resettlement pattern in the following manner :

> It is worth reiterating that the post-1975 waves of Southeast Asian refugees brought increasingly poorer and less educated refugees (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). The differences between immigrants from middle-class, urban backgrounds and those from farming and oral backgrounds have post-immigration social, economic, and educational implications. Although the racialization of Asian Americans lumps all Asian groups in the United States into a singular, high-achieving category, an examination of disaggregated data by ethnic groups reveals striking differences. (p. 419)

Although there is a diversity of experiences among SEAA immigration and resettlement patterns, their lived experience is unique from other groups under the Asian umbrella.

Ngo and Lee (2007) reiterated the difference between SEAA and other AA. They added that the migration experiences of Southeast Asian Americans contributed to the college experience of this population (Uy, 2016; Uy et al. 2019). The college experiences of SEAA students reflect Bitney and Liu's (2018) observed that a "large portion" of Southeast Asian American college students, particularly Hmong, Laotian, Cambodians, and Vietnamese, come from "low-income families, are the first in their family to attend college, and struggle financially to support themselves while attending school," which plays a role in the career development of these students (p. 99). Thus, some scholars argued that migration experiences that SEAA faced shape their post-migration experiences and that such experiences make them unique from other ethnicities under the "Asian American" nomenclature (e.g., Museus, 2009; Museus & Kiang, 2009; Ngo & Lee, 2007; Suzuki, 2002; Um, 2003). These experiences included surviving war; enduring reeducation and labor camps; escaping through jungles and seas; living through refugee camps; and witnessing traumatic atrocities. Nicassio and Pate (1984) found that Southeast Asian refugees had adjustment challenges, such as English proficiency, financial capital, and skills for employment. Leong and Gupta (2007) suggested that these issues were "indicative and predictive of adjustment problems elsewhere" (p. 169). In short, although statistics do not predetermine the outcomes for SEAA college students, the household and neighborhoods by which their families resettled can impact the resources, challenges, and assets that the bring to their higher education experience.

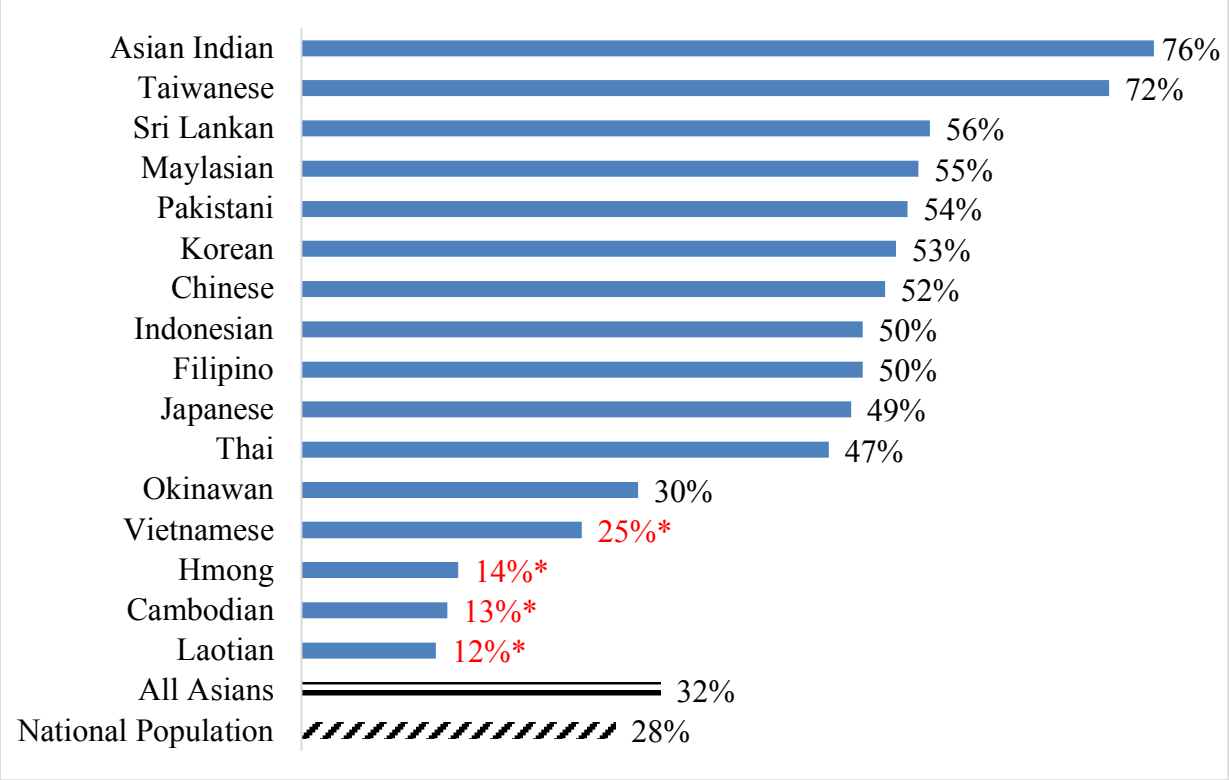
Educational Attainment

According to the U.S. Census (2010), more percentage of Asians at 25 years of age or over than all of the racial categories secured a bachelor's degree or a graduate or professional degree . At first glance, one may conclude that SEAA likely came from households with higher

education degrees. A closer examination based upon the disaggregation of the AA data revealed that SEAA are underrepresented among AA who are at least 25 years old or over who have a bachelor's degree. Figure 2.14 shows how the aggregated AA data misrepresents the household that many SEAA college students come from as they enter higher education.

Figure 2.14

Percentage of AA with a Bachelor's Degree, by Ethnicity



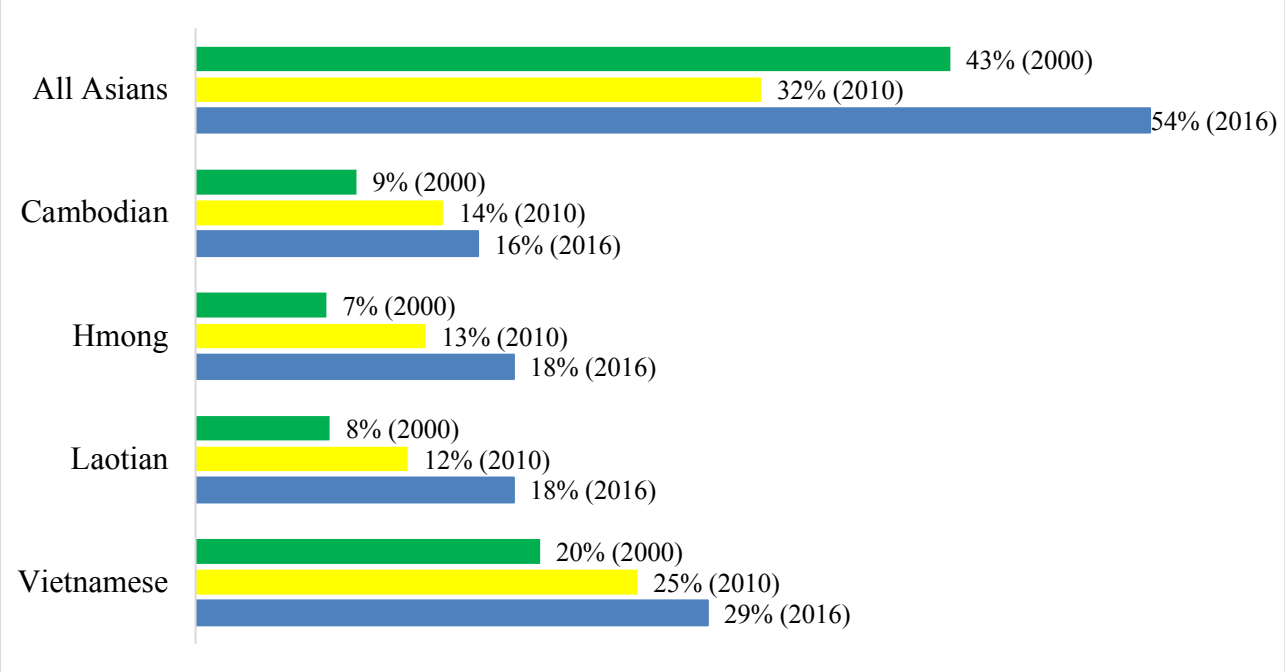
Source: U.S. Census: Educational Attainment in the United States: 2010 & U.S. Census Bureau: Public Use Microdata Sample, 2006-2010, 5-year estimates
* Indicates SEAA Ethnicities

While the national average for all races is 28 percent and for all Asian ethnicities is 32 percent, the percentage among Vietnamese Americans with a bachelor's degree is 25; Hmong Americans,14; Cambodian Americans, 13; and Hmong Americans, 12. This phenomeon has

been consistent over time. Figure 2.15 demonstrates this point by comparing 2000, 2010, and 2016 disaggregated data.

Figure 2.15

Percentage of SEAA Adults 25 Years of Age or Over with a Bachelor's or Higher Degree, 2010, 2010, and 2016 Comparison



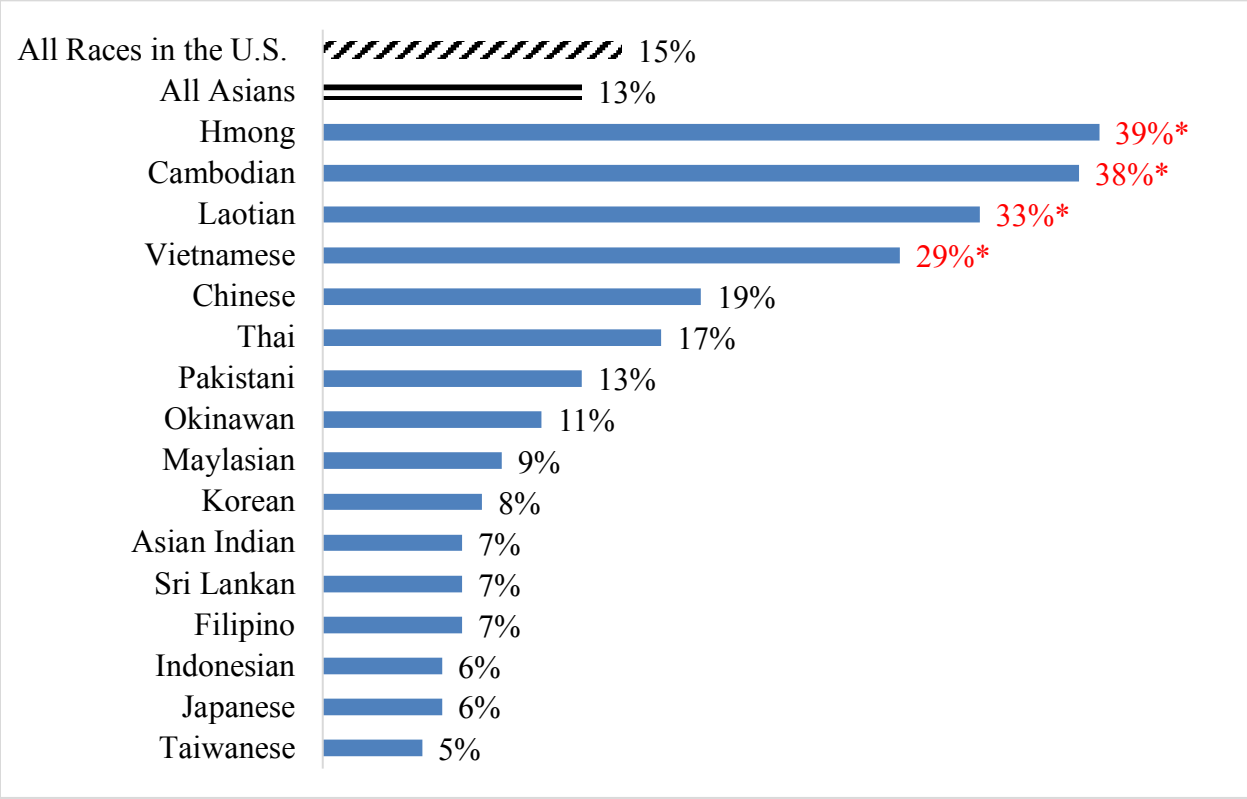
Sources: (1) 2000 and 2010 data were adapted from Ngo & Lee (2007) and Palmer & Maramba (2015) and (2) 2016 data was adapted from the NCES 2019-038 report published by the U.S. Department of Education (USDE) (de Brey et al., 2019).
Note: "All Asians" includes Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, South Asian, and Southeast Asian (including Burmese, Thai, and "Other") ethnicities under the "Asian alone" umbrella.

The above illustration shows that the SEAA have been e underrepresented in bachelor's degree attainment when compared to the overall AA data throughout time.
However, SEAA have been overrepresented in high school or less educational attainment.

Figure 2.16 shows AA at least 25 years old or over who have less than a high school diploma:

Figure 2.16

Percentage of Asian American at least 25 Years Old or Over with Less Than a High School Diploma, by Ethnicity



Source: U.S. Census: Educational Attainment in the United States: 2010 & U.S. Census Bureau: Public Use Microdata Sample, 2006-2010, 5-year estimates
* Indicates SEAA Ethnicities

While the national average for all races was 15 percent and the all Asian average was 13 percent, the percentage among Vietnamese Americans with less than a high school diploma was 29;

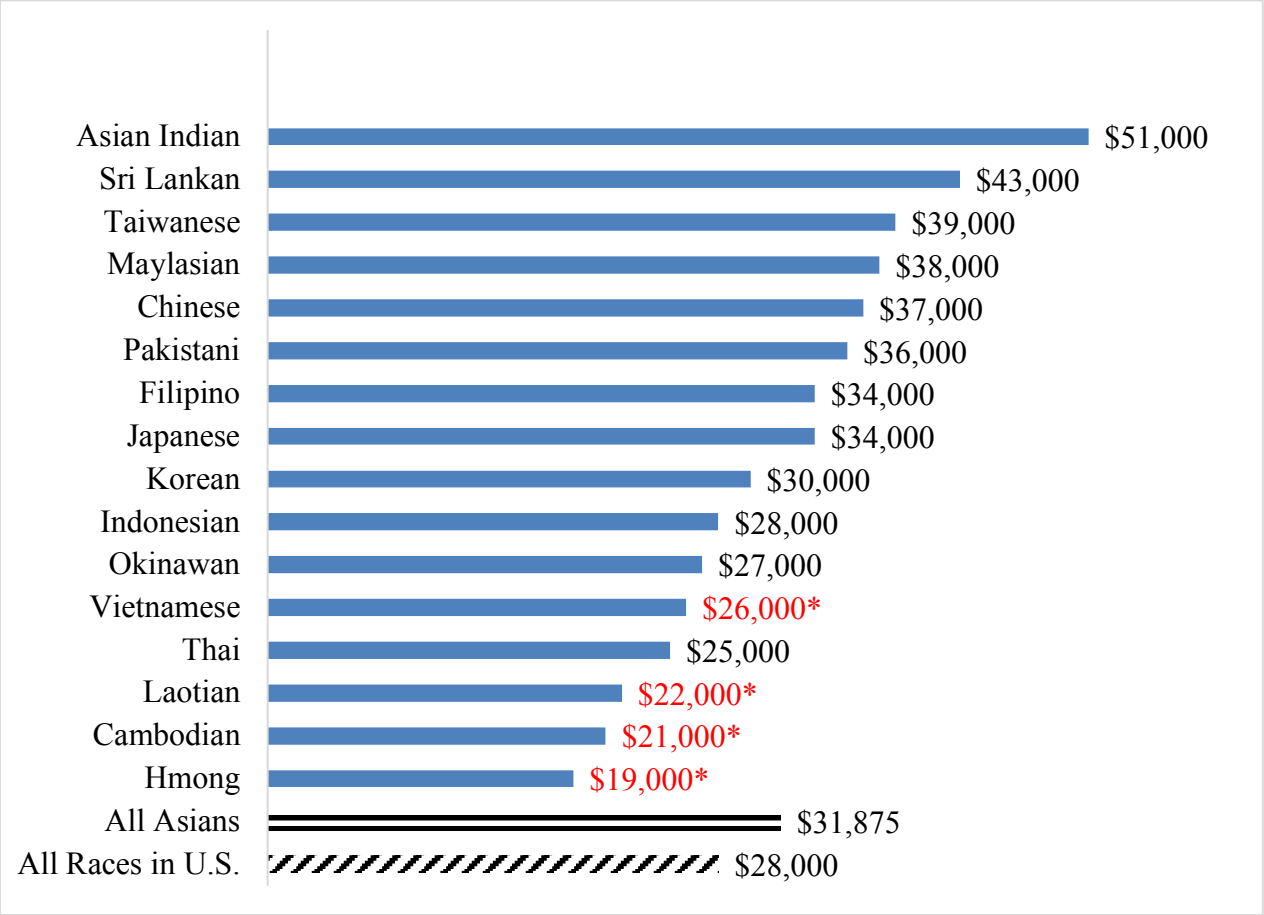
Laotian Americans, 33; Cambodian Americans, 38; Hmong Americans, 39. More SEAA college students are likely to come from households with a high school diploma or less compared to all the racial category or the Asian racial category.

Economic Earnings

In 2010 U.S. Census Bureau estimated that the average annual earnings of individuals with 25 years or older in the U.S. was $28,000. It also reported that the AA rate was $31,875. However, 50 percent of AA 25 years old or over earned an annual income of less than $20,000, which was at least $8,000 less than the average annual income of the overall U.S. population. Furthermore, a closer examination of the aggregated AA data revealed that SEAA ethnicities earned above and below the reported rate:

Figure 2.17

Average Annual Earnings of AA 25 Years or Older, by Ethnicity



Source: U.S. Census: Educational Attainment in the United States: 2010 & U.S. Census Bureau: Public Use Microdata Sample, 2006-2010, 5-year estimates
Note: "All Races" includes Asian, Black, Hispanic, White, Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaska Native, and "Two or more races" categories. "Asian" includes Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, South Asian, and Southeast Asian (including Burmese, Thai, and "Other") ethnicities under the Asian umbrella.

* Indicates SEAA Ethnicities

While Asian Indian Americans, Sri Lankan Americans, Taiwanese Americans, Malaysian Americans, and Chinese Americans earn well above the national median earnings, Vietnamese Americans, Laotian Americans, Cambodian Americans, and Hmong Americans earned below

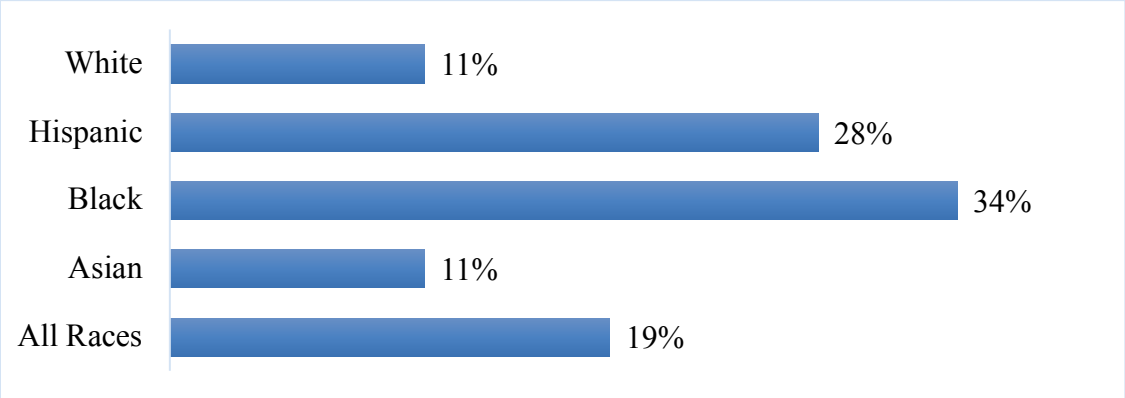
the national average and well below the Asian average. Ngo and Lee (2007) suggested that "differences in educational attainment also translate into economic disparities" for SEAA (p. 419). Therefore, 1.5- and second-generation SEAA who are attending colleges and universities as undergraduates and graduate students in the present day are likely to come from families with income that reflect these disparities.

Poverty Statistics

In 2019, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that AA children under the age of 18 living in poverty mirrored White American children.

Figure 2.18

Percentage of Children Under Age of 18 Living in Poverty, by Race



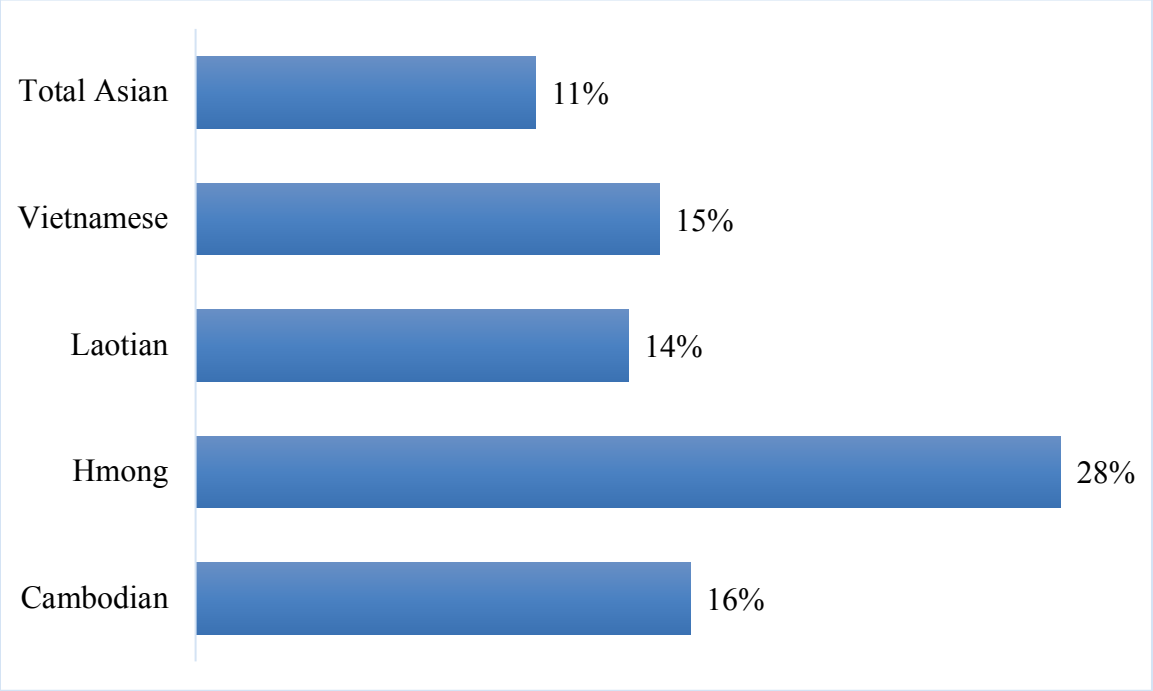
Source. Adapted from the NCES 2019-038 report published by the U.S. Department of Education (USDE).
Note. "All Races" includes Asian, Black, Hispanic, White, Pacific Islander, American Indian/Alaska Native, and "Two or more races" categories. "Asian" includes Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, South Asian, and Southeast Asian (including Burmese, Thai, and "Other") ethnicities under the Asian umbrella.

On the surface, it would be logical to conclude that the college students in present day come from household with similar levels of poverty and that all Asians are coming from household similar to Whites. However, once the AA data is disaggregated, the facts painted a

more diverse picture, and SEAA lived well below the Asian American poverty level and slightly below the national level:

Figure 2.19

Percentage of SEAA Children Under Age of 18 Living in Poverty by Ethnicity



Sources. Adapted from the NCES 2019-038 report published by the U.S. Department of Education (USDE).
Note: "Asian" includes Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, South Asian, and Southeast Asian (including Burmese, Thai, and "Other") ethnicities under the Asian umbrella.

From Figure 2.19, the logical conclusion was that the average SEAA college students were likely to come from families that exist below the national average for poverty.

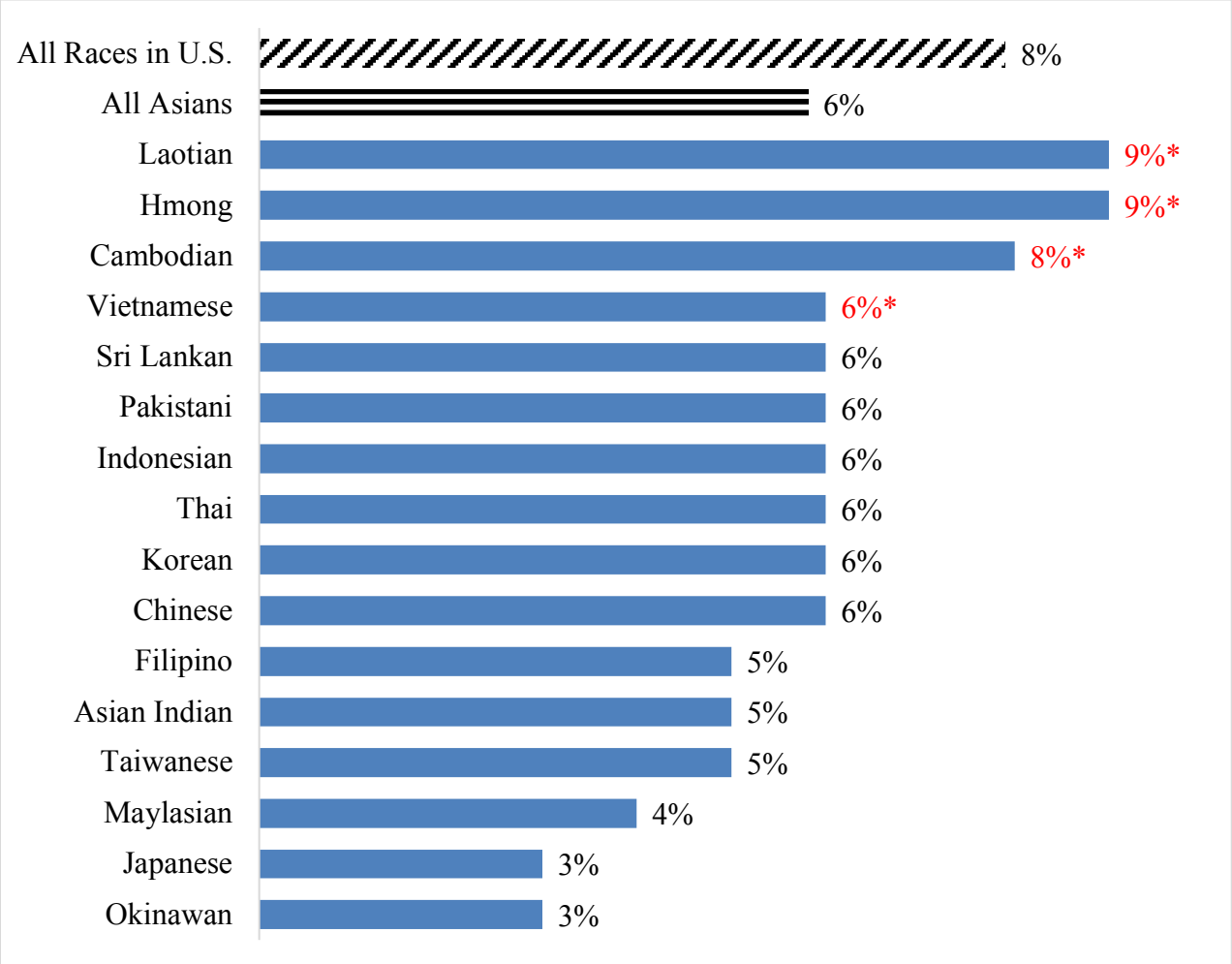
Unemployment Data

According to the 2010 U.S. Census, 8 percent of Americans were unemployed; however, the unemployment rate for Asian Americans was only 6 percent. From the aggregated AA data, one may have concluded that all Asians were doing exceptionally well in terms of being

employed. Figure 2.20 provides a closer examination, revealing a more diverse AA employment situation.

Figure 2.20

Unemployment of AA 25 Years or Over, by Ethnicity



Source: U.S. Census Bureau: Public Use Microdata Sample, 2006-2010, 5-year estimates
* Indicates SEAA Ethnicities

While the unemployment rate among AA are above the national average of 8 percent, the rate for Cambodian Americans is 9 percent; Hmong Americans, 10; Laotian Americans, 10. Among

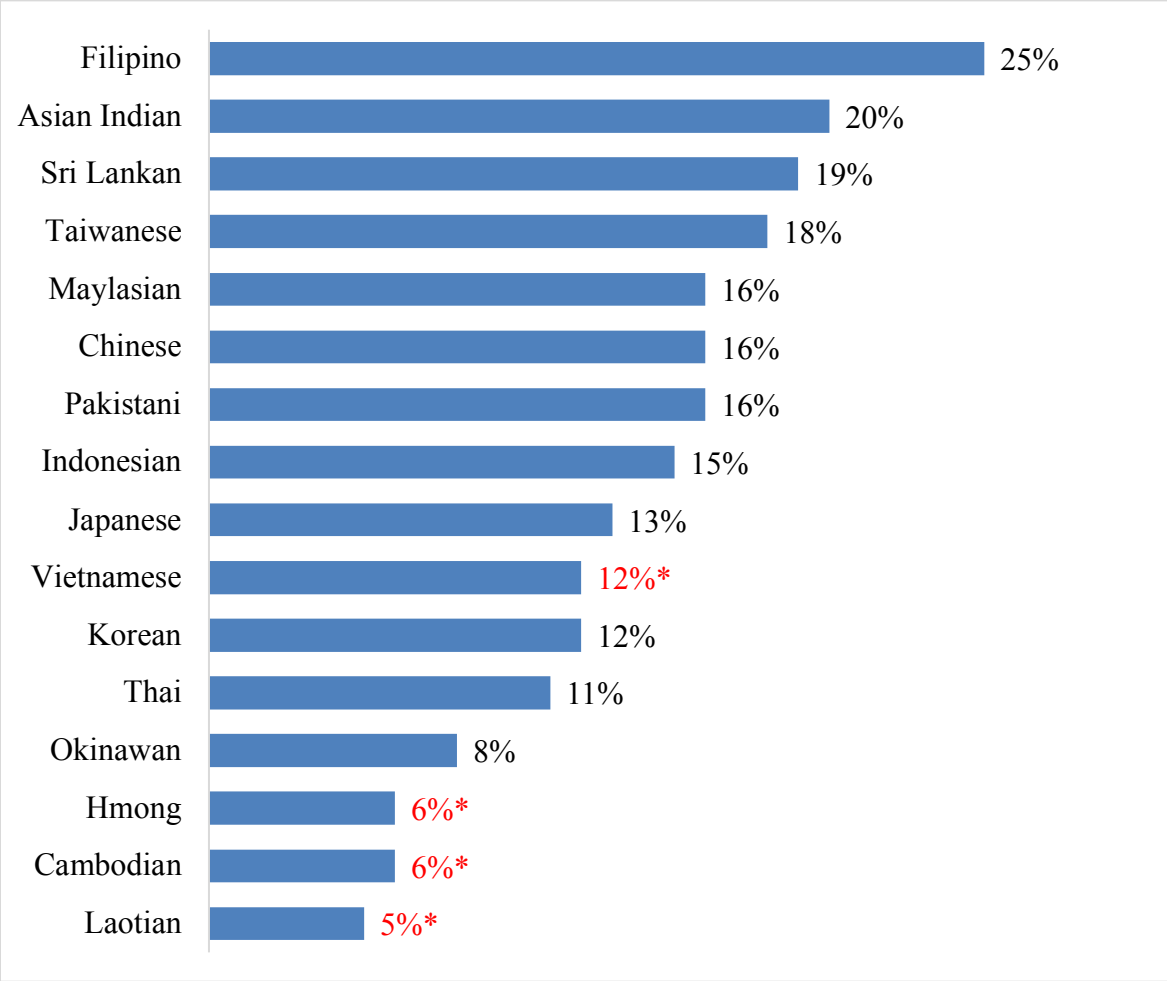
SEAA ethnicities, only Vietnamese Americans had an unemployment rate that was below the national average.

Employment Fields

Contrary to the model minority myth, not all AA are in the health and science industry. The U.S. Census Bureau documented that fewer SEAA are in health and science professions comparted to their AA counterparts. Figure 2.21 illustrates this case:

Figure 2.21

Percentage of AA 25 Years or Over in Health & Science Professions, by Ethnicity



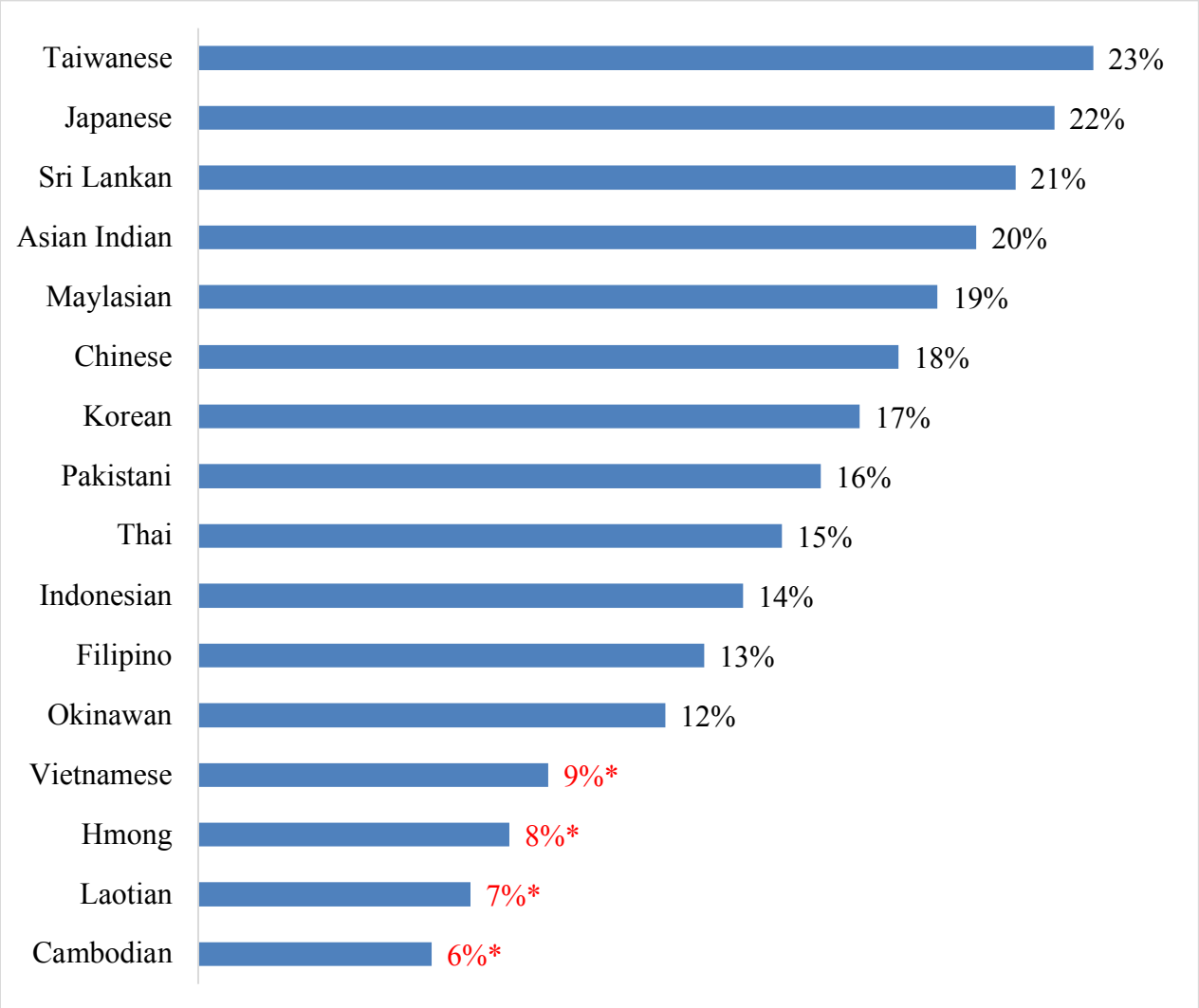
Source: U.S. Census Bureau: Public Use Microdata Sample, 2006-2010, 5-year estimates
* Indicates SEAA Ethnicities

As Figure 2.21 communicates, less than 7 percent of Hmong Americans, Cambodian Americans, or Laotian Americans were in the health and science fields. Among SEAA, only Vietnamese Americans were in double digit percentage for health and science professions.

Similarly, the percentage of SEAA in business and management professions were in the single digit. Figure 2.23 demonstrates this scenario:

Figure 2.22

Percentage of AA 25 Years or Over in Business & Management Professions, by Ethnicity

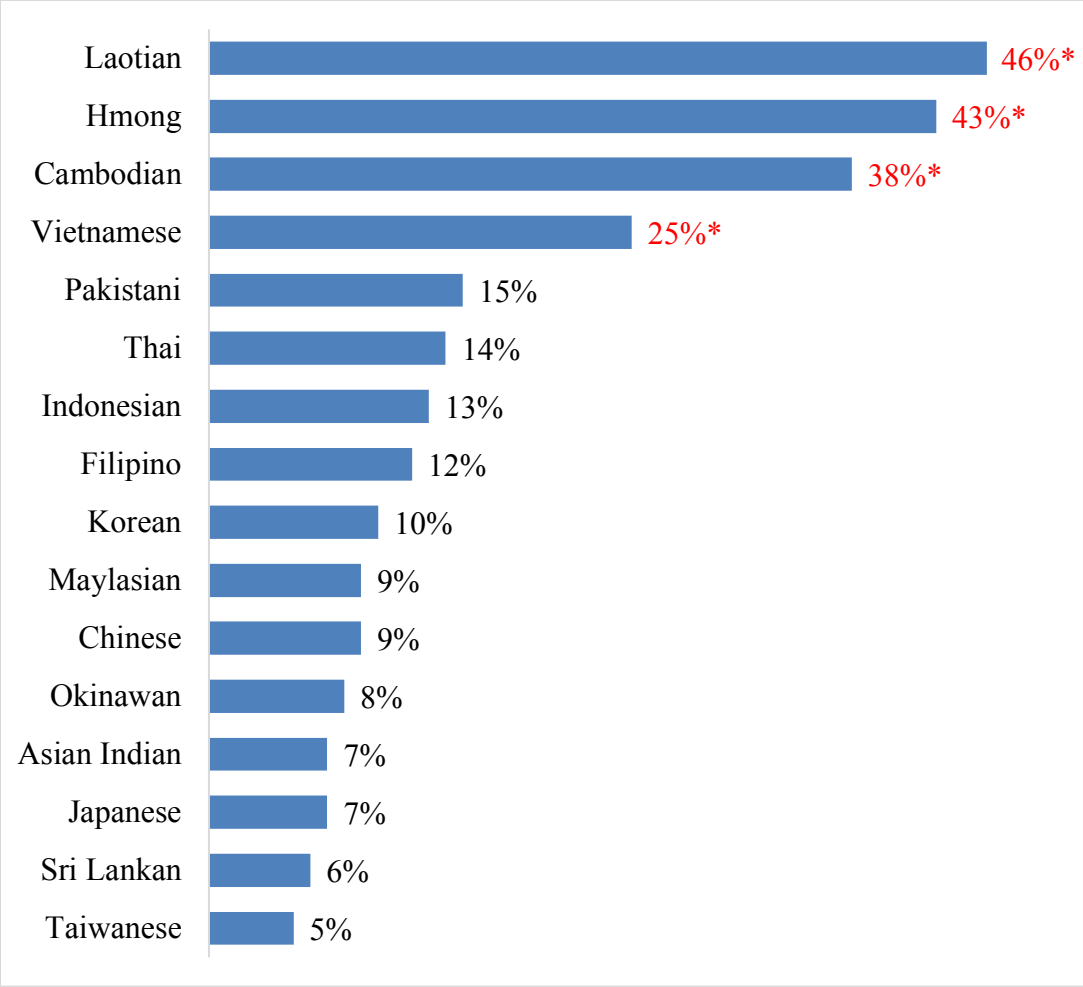


Source: U.S. Census Bureau: Public Use Microdata Sample, 2006-2010, 5-year estimates
* Indicates SEAA Ethnicities

Among SEAA ethnicities, only 9 percent of Vietnamese Americans; 8 percent of Hmong Americans; 7 percent of Laotian Americans; and, 6 percent of Cambodian Americans were in business and management professions. SEAA are underrepresented in business and management positions and overrepresented in production and transportation occupations. Figure 2.23 reflects this reality:

Figure 2.23

Proportion of Asian Americans 25 Years and Over in Production & Transportation Professions, by Ethnicity



Source: U.S. Census Bureau: Public Use Microdata Sample, 2006-2010, 5-year estimates
* Indicates SEAA Ethnicities

A large proportion of SEAA are in production and transportation occupations. In fact, the four highest proportions were among SEAA ethnicities: Vietnamese Americans (25 percent); Cambodian Americans (38 percent); Hmong Americans (43 percent); Laotian Americans (46 percent). According to Museus (2014), the underrepresentation of SEAA in health, science,

business, and management professions meant that SEAA have been underrepresented in White collar occupations. This observation was consistent with the educational and economic statistics present in the above figures.

As the above data indicate, there is diversity (e.g., community, educational attainment, ethnicity, generational, history, immigration, languages, socioeconomic) across and within SEAA ethnic groups (Lee et al., 2017; Ngo & Lee, 2007; Southeast Asia Resource Action Center [SEARAC], 2011). SEAA share a common colonial, war, and migration history, but the timing and circumstances are often indicators of resettlement patterns. Furthermore, the resettlement patterns of SEAA make them unique from other Asians. Uy et al. (2016) believed that the immigration and resettlement history patterns of SEAA impacted the educational, particularly college, and career experiences of SEAA college students.

Data Disaggregation

Consequently, aggregating SEAA data into the AA data misrepresents SEAA and marginalizes SEAA in higher education research, policy, and practice. When researchers aggregate AA data, they ignore the historical context of SEAA immigration and distort the reality that AA are present at the lowest as well as the highest level of educational and economic attainment and economic mobility ((Brydolf, 2009; Lee, Wong & Alvarez, 2009). In other words, there is a diversity of experiences among groups within the AA category that "complicates" the aggregated AA data, and SEAA is an example of that complication (Ngo & Lee, 2007, p. 441). In light of the educational and economic realities of SEAA, some researchers argue that the situation for SEAA is more akin to that of Hispanic Americans and Black Americans than that of that of AA or White Americans (Musu-Gillette, Robinson, McFarland, KewalRamani, Zhang & Wilkinson-Flicker, 2016; Ngo & Lee, 2007; SEARAC, 2013; U.S.

Census Bureau, 2017, 2018). As a result, a growing number of scholars believe that lumping SEAA into the Asian American aggregate data ignores the historical, immigration patterns, cultural, and geopolitical context that make SEAA unique from other groups under the Asian American racial umbrella (Takaki, pp. 448-471; USCB, 2010). Proponents of disaggregating AA argue that to aggregate AA is to misrepresent SEAA's lived experiences, especially their educational and career development experiences (Museus, 2009). Museus (2009) references the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) as a case in point. According to Museus, the NCES reported that AA had the highest six-year graduation rate among all racial categories. However, when SEAA data was separated from the AA data, the NCES report revealed that only 14 SEAA were in the report. Consequently, Museus argued that the aggregated AA data were insufficient for examining the experiences of SEAA college students.

SEAA College Students & Career Development Influences

In this section, I will discuss the rarity of studies on the career development of SEAA college students. Specifically, I will review literature that may be even remotely relevant to the impact that parents, family, peers, institutional agents, and the model minority myth have on this population.

A promising direction for the career development of SEAA college students is that there has been a growing number of scholars (e.g., Her, 2014; Jang, 2018; Lor and Hutchinson, 2017; Museus, 2013b; Uy, Ki, and Khuon, 2019) and organizations (e.g. Southeast Asian Resource Center, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders Data) have been calling for the disaggregation of AA data in order to provide clarity on the career development of SEAA college students. These researchers and organizations argued that the policy and practice of aggregating data under the AA umbrella render the experiences of SEAA and their college-going children to be "invisible,"

"mispresented," and "marginalized" (Her, 2014; Museus & Buenavista, 2016, p.6; Museus; Maramba & Teranishi, 2013).

Adding to the invisibility, misrepresentation, and marginalization has been the absence career development theory for AA in general and SEAA in specific. This situation has added to misrepresentation and marginalization of SEAA college students. The literature gap on the career development of SEAA has been a microcosm of the wider universe of higher education research, policy, and practices that have excluded Asian Americans (Jang, 2018; Lee, Duesbery, Han, Her, & Pang, 2017; Maramba, Palmer & Kang, 2018; Museus, 2009, 2009b). Asian American college students, particularly SEAA, have had to contend with the reality that the five most influential career development theories in the U.S. share at least three common characteristics: (1) the models were grounded in White American-middle class norms, values, and variables; (2) the developers of the models were White Americans who conducted and interpreted research from the their lived experiences and worldview; and (3) none of the models focus on AA or SEAA (Leung, 2008; Leong & Hardin, 2002; Patton & McMahon, 2014). For these reasons, contemporary career development scholars like Patton and McMahon (2014) acknowledged, " A long standing criticism of career theory is its neglect of populations other than white, middle class western males" (p. 83). In short, there no career development theory that was by, for, and based on AA or SEAA (Leung, 2008; Patton & McMahon, 1999, 2006, 2014). Consequently, students of color who come from families with collectivistic orientation, such as Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans, remain underserved in the area of career development (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Vega, 1990; Lee et al., 2017; Tang et al., 2013). In summary, the problem is that there has been little or no research on the topic of SEAA college student career development, and the dominant theoretical career development models in

the U.S. have been insufficient for understanding the career development of this rapidly growing population on American college and university campuses.

Since there has been a scarcity of literature on the career development of SEAA college students, what researchers and practitioners know about the career development of this population came from a few, though growing number, of scholarships on this topic as well as from the limited amount of studies on the career development of AA college students. The subsequent paragraphs in this section will examine the themes—familial, parental, peer influences, and institutional, and institutional agents—that are most relevant to my research questions.

Familial

SEAA families often come from a collective tradition and households often consist of parents and a close extended family—"grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, cousins, nephews, and nieces who live in close proximity to one another" (Dinh et al., 2008, p. 3). However, some scholars (e.g., Dinh et al., 2008; Chung, Bemak, and Kagawa-Singer, 1998) believe that war, genocide, refugee camps, and U.S. resettlement have been destroying the traditional Southeast Asian family structure as well as the traditions within their families. For example, Rumbaut and Ima's (1998) study of a Cambodian community in San Diego, California found that close to 50% of the families are single-parent families.

In a qualitative study on the academic and career aspirations of second-generation Laotian American college students, Phommasa, Chhuon, and antonio (2015) found that extended family members, including community members, as much as parents impacted their academic majors. Their immediate and extended family members steered students toward more

economically predictable and stable careers, such as the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) and business fields, regardless of students' interests. However, students' younger family members, such as siblings or cousins, were more sympathetic to students' desire to choose an academic or career that is congruent with their interest.

On career interest & choice. In a qualitative study of 50 1.5- and second-generation Vietnamese young adults in Southern California, Trieu (2006) reported that siblings had expectations of each other to financially support the family. Among the participants, there were implicit and explicit "play your role' expectations to contribute to the 'family as a unit' (Trieu, 2006, p. 1372). Family obligation was not isolated to the eldest child but also passed on to younger ones. Such obligations appeared to be born out of a combination of their immigrant and refugee experiences, financial instability, and cultural 'filial piety' (Trieu, 2006, p. 1374). This was consistent with Kibria's (1993) study that found that both environmental and cultural factors influenced the expectation that family members contribute to the financial health of the Vietnamese immigrant family. Thus, choosing an academic major in college meant taking into consideration the collective need of the family.

Chhuon, Hudley, Brenner, and Macias (2010) studied family obligations and attitudes and behaviors among Cambodian American college students at the University of California. They noted that the experiences of the extended family influenced the opportunities and expectations of individuals within the family. For these participants, an aspect of their family obligation was to serve as role models for younger siblings and cousins. When older siblings and cousins were not successful at college, the situation shaped parental perception of college. This perception influenced parental decision on whether to be supportive of their young

children's higher education pursuits. One of the participants in their study chose a business major because of its potential lucrativeness; however, after being on academic probation, the participant switched to a non-business major in order to ensure that he would not fail out of college because he foresaw that that his failure would restrict his family's support of his younger sibling's college aspiration.

According to Chiang, Fisher, Collins, and Ting (2015), extended family members affected Hmong American high school students' decision to continue to college. They explained, "Considering the Hmong community is a close-knit group, family members can have a positive or negative influence on one's decision to pursue higher education" (p. 23). In their study, they identified family members as a form of "cultural capital" (p. 13). This asset supplied them with the aspiration to enroll in college, the knowledge to select an academic major and career, and the resources for pursuing graduate studies and entering the professional workforce.

Maramba, Palmer, Kang, and Yull's (2018) investigation into the college choice of Southeast Asian American college students discovered that both parents and extended family members (e.g., siblings, relatives) played significant roles in students' college choice. This was consistent with Phommasa et al.'s (2015) study that found that extended family members (e.g., aunts, cousins, grandparents, siblings, uncles,) served critical roles in the academic and career choice of second-generation Lao American college students. They reported that family members influenced these students at least as much as their parents; in fact, it was "almost to the point where their influence appeared indistinguishable from parents" (p. 1). Like parents, family members had expectations of their college relative. Some of the participants in Phommasa et al.'s (2015) study received as much pressure from their extended family members as from their parents on college choice and career choice. And, career choice centered on colleges and careers

that were in "stable economic future" fields such as STEM and business (p. 8). Many students chose these careers out of "guilt that students feel for relying on their parents" (p. 13). Phommasa et al. (2015) claimed that such motivation for choosing a career had the potential to lead students down a path of living an unfulfilled life. Phommasa et al. (2015) found that participants who selected career choices in compliance to their parents' and older family members' wishes were "unhappy" with their choice (p. 13).

Phommasa et al. (2015) showed that generational difference existed between the type of support that older relatives and siblings and cousins offer to the students. Older family members worked to guide participants into STEM and business professions, which often mirrored the family member's current career. However, younger siblings and cousins were more supportive in the participants pursuing careers that interests the student instead of careers that had a trajectory toward economic stability. These younger family members were more emotionally and practically (e.g., assist with job search) supportive when these students pursue a career because of their personal passion.

On career performance. In the area of career performance, Phommasa et al. (2015) professed that extended family members provided crucial advice and support on entering, navigating, and succeeding in college. According to Phommasa et al. (2015), family members served critical roles in the career development of Laotian American college students because parents had limited command of the English language and posed extremely limited understanding of the higher education system in comparison with the knowledge and know-how of their family members.

According to Ngo (2006), this collective approach to helping their children succeed in college placed enormous pressure on students to succeed. Ngo (2006) claimed that this affected

many Hmong American students' view that the future of their parents and extended family depended on their success. While this was a guiding motivator for matriculation in college, it was also a point of acute stress for students. However, family members, along with parents, also alleviated the strains of succeeding in college. According to Xiong and Lam (2013), family members had helped students develop a sense of belonging as Hmong American students strived to succeed in college. Furthermore, they found that the older siblings of Hmong American college students functioned as role models for their siblings and cousins. Such findings were consistent with and Lee (1997) and Lor (2008).

In addition, Phommasa et al. (2015) discovered that the migration history of their parents and family members had a crucial and indirect role on the career performance of their children. Being mindful of their parents' struggles as refugees lead had led many to persist and succeed in their academic and career aspirations. Similarly, Lor's (2008) study on the matriculation of Hmong American college students found that "having a supportive family played a significant role in staying the course. Contributing family members included parents, siblings, and other immediate family members" (p. 40). Family members not only assisted with social but financial capital to help students persist even when neither parents nor extended family members had substantial resources to offer financial assistance. Likewise, Xiong and Lam's (2013) study on the factors that affected the success of Hmong American college students revealed that both parents and family members contributed to the emotional and financial success of parents. Xiong et al.'s (2013) findings paralleled earlier studies on the college success of Southeast Asian American college students (e.g., McClain-Reulle & Xiong, 2005; Supple, McCoy, & Wang, 2010; Yang, 2004; Yang, 2008, 2014). These were consistent with Palmer and Maramba's (2015) study on the role that social capital had in student access to and success in college. In the

research, Palmer et al. (2015) studied 43 SEAA college students from five four-year public higher education institution. They found that many of the participants depended on their cousins and siblings for information on getting into college and succeeding in college because many of the students came from parents who have no high school or college experiences.

Parental

In a study that Xiong, Eliason, Detzner, and Cleveland (2005) conducted to understand what 36 parents and 37 adolescent Southeast Asian Americans perceived as being a "good" parent and a "good" child, they revealed that although Hmong, Lao, and Vietnamese Americans had distinct languages, cultures, and social practices they shared similar parenting philosophy, practices, and beliefs. Xiong et al.'s findings challenged what White, middle-class American families considered to be good parents and good adolescents. For instance, Xiong et. al showed that the collective nature of SEAA families, particularly those whose parents are immigrants, highly affected the attitudes and behaviors of SEAA children (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, 1994). These children had a high sense of familism–the "feeling of loyalty, reciprocity and solidarity" to an individual's family (Sabogal, Martin, Otero-Sabogal, 1987, p. 398). For many SEAA parents, a good child fulfilled family obligations and filial piety, which conflicted with the individualistic society in which White, middle-class Americans majority (Ho, 1986; Kibria, 1993; Nguyen & Henkin, 1981; Tang et al., 2013). Thus, like other AA college students, career interests, choice, performance, and persistence for SEAA may not be an expression of personal-interest but family-interest and -care (Tang, Fouad, & Smith, 1999). While an individualistic society judges a good adolescent to be independent thinker and assertive, collectivistic society judges self-centered thinking and self-assertiveness to be immature because such adolescents do not take into account and consideration the needs and responsibilities of the

family. Consequently, good parenting in traditionally collectivistic society meant ensuring that the decision-maker provided for family the family; made decisions for the family; cared for the physical needs of the children; protected their offspring from harmful interactions; and taught them proper conduct (Johnson, 1998; Strom, Johnson, Strom, & Daniels, 1992; Xiong, Detzner, & Rettig, 2001). Scholars point out that this collective-centered parent-child relationship may be foreign to many White, middle-class American adolescents because their expectations of their parents was to exhibit warmth, affection, responsiveness, involvement, and firmness toward their children. And, White, middle-class American parents expected adolescents to be independent and autonomous (Hall, 1987; Magen, 1994; Minuchin, 1974; Paguio, Skeen, & Robinson, 1989; Raina, Kumar, & Raina, 1980). Thus, Xiong et al. (2005) observed, "In the United States, a good child is defined as one who is independent, intellectually curious, competent, achievement oriented, self-reliant, assertive, communicative, social, and empathetic. Conformity, family loyalty, family responsibility, and obedience to authority are valued less" (p. 161). Therefore, the two worldviews have different standards of measurement for parent-child relationships. Their observations were consistent with research on White, middle-class American parenting by a multitude of researchers, including Lawton, Schuler, Fowell, and Madsen (1984), Maccoby & Martin (1983), and Steinberg, 2001).

Likewise, in a study of 135 unstructured interview of members of a Vietnamese community, Bankston (1995) attempted to understand how Vietnamese adapted to life in the U.S. Bankston reported that parents expected their children to be obedient to them until marriage. Although U.S. society may consider this expectation to be extreme, some SEAA viewed this expectation as a compromise. Bankston explained, "Fathers said that they expected

obedience from all children, both sons and daughters. Several said that the difference between family life in Vietnam and family life in the United States meant that Vietnamese-American children could be expected to obey parents until marriage, rather than throughout life as in Vietnam" (p. 169). Thus, such Vietnamese families viewed that the early end to the expectation as a compromise.

As a result of growing up in a society that values individualism over collectivism, children of Southeast Asian descent often came into intergenerational conflict with their parents (Han, 2006; McClain & Xiong, 2006; Su, Lee, & Vang, 2005; Ying & Han, 2007). Furthermore, the traumatic refugee experience that SEAA parents endure chipped away at the ability of these parents to strengthen intergenerational ties with their children (Dinh, Weinstein, Kim, & Ho, 2008; Keo, 2019; Lee et al., 2017; Vang, 1999; Xiong, 2016). Ying and Han's (2007) study of 188 SEA college students with refugee parents found that participants preferred "a parenting style that reflects acculturation to U.S. cultural norms" (p. 41). Studies showed that the byproducts of intergenerational conflicts within SEAA families included failing in school; joining gangs; and dealing with depression and suicides (Han, 2006; Lau, Jernewall, Zane, & Myers, 2002; Wong, 2001; Ying & Han, 2006).

On career interest & choice. Fouad, Kantamneni, Smothers, Chen, Fitzpatrick, and Terry (2008) studied the career choice of Asian American professionals. Among the 12 participants, which ranged from 20 to 80 years of age, four identify as SEAA. The qualitative study demonstrated that parental expectations influenced the career choice of the professionals. Parental expectations included career selection, educational attainment, and career prestige. Fouad et al. (2008) recorded the following responses from participants: (1) some participants

complied with the wishes of their parents; (2) some integrated parental with personal career choices; and (3) some followed their personal career interest even if their choices run counter to their parents. All were in constant negotiation between theirs and their parents' career direction and expectations. This negotiation stretched through their adult life; and, for some participants, the quest to gain parental approval regarding their career decisions and outcomes was a continuous process.

Filial piety & financial stability. Some researchers have found filial piety—the belief that a person should provide for their parents and family—to be a major influence in the career choice of SEAA college students (Chhuon, Hudley, Brenner, & Macias, 2010; Chhuon, Kyratzis, and Hudley, 2010; Tang et al., 2013). They found that filial piety became intertwined with financial stability as parents' and families' aspirations for the child a heavily affected the career choice of SEAA college students. This had lead certain scholars to conclude that the line between career interests and career choice became blurred and merged and that AA, particularly SEAA, chose their academic major and career based upon the wishes of their families, particularly their parents (Ma, 2009; Shen, Liao, Abraham, & Weng, 2014; Song & Glick, 2004). However, filial piety did not necessarily mean selecting a major in college. It included forgoing higher education. In a study of 449 SEAA college students, Wright and Buon (2011) found that filial piety also meant not going to college in order to work to provide for the family. reported on a participant's situation. In addition, some participants chose to head straight to the workforce after high school because the prospect of earning immediate money for their families outweighed the "delayed gratification" attending college in order to provide for their families. Other participants described peers who were pressured by their parents to skip college in order to work

in family-owned businesses; those who chose to go to college anyway often felt selfish and guilty. Regardless of whether the experience was a push toward or a pull away from higher education, filial piety, which was both a parental and community influence, were critical to educational and career development of SEAA college students.

Museus' (2013a) study on the role of parental influence on the educational trajectories of 34 Southeast Asian American college students found that parents pressured students to choose majors that lead students to careers with economic stability, specifically pre-medical majors. In addition, Museus (2013b) studied the role that parents play in the educational trajectory of 34 SEAA undergraduates at four-year institutions. Museus (2013) discovered that parents "pressure" students to choose academic majors that they believe will lead students to "economically stable careers" (p. 728). This may be because many SEAA are first-generation college students who came from low socioeconomic families and face financial challenges and instability compared to other groups in the Asian American racial category (Museus, Maramba, and Teranishi, 2013). Museus (2013b) reported that students may internalize parental pressures and became unhappy for the following reasons: they (1) were not in academic majors that fit their interests or skills , (2) encountered difficulties in making decisions major switch, or (3) struggled to gain parental support for exploring and switching majors because their parents did not comprehend the career trajectory of other majors (p. 731). However, among the 34 participants, only four expressed this sentiment. Therefore, we should not essentialize this career interest-choice phenomenon. Yet, these findings were consistent with earlier findings in Museus' (2013a) qualitative study that showed parental pressures and expectations for SEAA

college students to fulfill financial obligations through majors and careers that did not fit the interest of the student presented a challenge for these students.

According to Chiang, Fisher, Collins, & Ting's (2015), parents' concerns for the financial stability of their children started early. In their study of Hmong American high school students in an urban setting, they revealed that participants financial concerns in their family drove their career concerns. These participants strived to enter careers that contributed to their family's income. Furthermore, they wished to not be a financial burden in their family because they felt that their family were already facing the financial instability of a low socioeconomic situation.

Similarly, Trieu's (2016) researched the influence of family obligation on the perception and behavior of immigrant children. Trieu defined family obligation as "the 'sense of duty' to assist family members and consider their needs when making a personal decision" (p. 1356). Trieu (2016) interviewed 50 1.5- and second-generation Vietnamese and Chinese Vietnamese college students and college-educated young adults in Southern California. Trieu (2016) found that parental expectations, which comes from being in a collective-oriented culture and from desiring to fulfill the financial need of the family, drive participants to make decisions that fulfill financial family obligations. Thus, Trieu's (2016) and Museus' (2013b) findings were similar: (1) parents influenced the academic majors and career fields that their college children selected and (2) the choices favor majors and fields with higher economic potential.

Likewise, Zhang, Lee, Kenworthy, Chiang, Holaday, Spencer, Poll-Hunger, and Sánchez (2017) examined the factors that influence Southeast Asian Americans, which the researchers include Vietnamese Americans and Cambodian Americans, and East Asian American medical

school students' interests and barriers to entering careers in academic medicine. They found that one of the factors that determine whether a student will have interest in academic medicine is parents' perception of an academic medicine career. Zhang et al. (2017) reported:

> Many students felt that they were influence by the way their "immigrant parents," who had "certain generational experiences," thought of academic medicine Students stated that a common sentiment among parents is that clinical careers provide greater social and financial stability compared to academic careers.
>
> A lot of people in our parents' generation, especially among Asian immigrants see medicine as the "iron rice bowl"…once you get the training, you keep on eating out of it with a steady income and a steady job.
>
> (p. 7)

Although Zhang et al.'s (2017) study examined academic and career interests and choice at the graduate education level, their findings appeared to align with Museus's (2013b) and Trieu's (2013): (1) parents were major influencers of SEAA college students' choice of academic majors and careers and (2) immigrant parents desired economic stability for their children.

Collectivism. In Tang, Kim, and Haviland's (2014) qualitative study on forces that influence the experiences of Cambodian American college students at a large, comprehensive university, the researchers found that some parents attempt to persuade their children to pursue academic majors that conflict with their children's career interests. One participant recalled, "My parents wanted me to be a doctor, so I did Bio … I was suffering so much. I even cried during classes" (p. 8). Since this applicant did not have an interest in the subject, she did not perform well in it. Another participant's parents attempted to influence him to switch from philosophy as an academic field to "something science-y" and lucrative (p. 9). A third student

who pursued art as an academic major received pressure from her parents to be a pharmacist. In all three cases, parents were supportive of their children's eventual academic major or career. As a result, Tang et al. (2014) reflected, "Parent often supported the students as much as they could, but worried about the students' future job opportunities when they selected certain majors" (p. 9). Thus, parents had in mind the best interest of their children's future well-being.

Yang (2014)'s qualitative study on the career development of 1.5-generation Hmong American women found that the career interest phenomenon among the participants were unique from the experiences of both White and other AA. Yang (2014) noted that while research showed that the parents and extended family and community members of other AA "pushed" their children toward STEM careers for economic and social status purposes, few of Yang's (2014) participants identified this as a theme in their career interest formulation (p. 418). On the contrary, few of them mentioned having particular "career dreams" as part of their upbringing because of the scarcity of career expectations from their parents, families and community (p. 418). However, they noted that pre-college enrichment and career exploration programs were contributors to their career interest and exploration. And, once participants developed the concept of a career, they gravitated toward "helping" professions that seek to service their communities (p. 418). Yang (2014) attributed this value to participants growing up in a collectivist culture and witnessing their family's and community's challenges with poverty and racial oppression.

In Chhuon, Hudley, Brenner, and Macias' (2010) study of 10 Cambodian Americans undergraduate students who described English as their first language and whose parents arrived in the U.S. in the 1980s, the researchers documented that the parents of participants saw

succeeding in higher education as a means of achieving financial security for the family. Therefore, they encouraged the pursuit of academic achievement and higher education.

This was consistent with a study by Wright and Boun (2015). After surveying 449 SEAA college students, conducting focus groups consisting of SEAA college students, and interviewing 17 SEAA college student experts on four National Association for the Education and Advancement of Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans (NAFEA) panels at an Education Conference, the researchers found that many SEAA parents are supportive of their children's pursuit of higher education. However, these parents were not knowledgeable about choices of academic majors. In addition, one of the students who responded to the open-ended section of the survey observed that "many students are forced by their parents to go to the field that might not fit in their academic strengthen or ability. Most Asian parents wanted their children to pursue: 1. Medicine or health; 2. Business; 3. Engineering. We don't see a lot of parental supports on liberal art subjects" (p. 48). Thus, while parents were a source of support, they were also a point of pressure for students in their academic and career choice because they did not have lived experience in higher education or in the professional workforce.

Xiong and Lam (2013) examined the factors that served as success and barriers in Hmong American college students. Their researched consisted of five interviews with students whose parents arrived in the U.S. in the 1970s and 1980s as refugees. The participants identified their parents' financial and emotional support as contributors to their success, and acknowledge the limit of their parents' ability to help with choices in college. "You just kind of live day-to-day and try to survive…They tell us to go in school and o what the teachers tells you…they never really take the time…to help you plan out the future," one participant explained to researchers.

In McClain and Xiong's (2006) study of the factors that influenced recruiting, retaining, and preparation of Hmong pre-service teachers in Central Wisconsin, researchers found that parents provided participants with a high level of support for their career choice as teachers. Furthermore, they identified parents and family as key in their completion of their education.

In Phommasa et al.'s (2015) examination of 10 Laotian American college students' aspirations, the researcher defined "educational" aspiration as "students' desired major" and desired degree level (e.g., bachelor's, master's, doctorate) (p. 2). Similarly, the researcher defined "occupational" aspirations as "students' desired career" (p. 2). Phommasa et al. found that parents were highly influential in participants' choice of academic major and career aspirations. Phommasa et al. reported, "Students who had chosen a major of their parents' desire had previously preferred career paths that were considered economically unstable for their future" because of their "respect for parents' immigration histories and the guilt of financial dependence" (p. 7). As a result, these students found themselves pursuing science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) majors and fields. While some students pursued STEM majors out of "intense pressure" from their parents, others explained that they decide on such majors because of "perceived parental expectations" (p. 7). One participant rationalized, 'Because I've heard them talking to like other parents, their kids who have like sociology degrees or like, yea. They really wanted me to do accounting just because I can find a job after I graduate.' Out of a desire to please their parents, these students select majors that they know that they have 'no passion for it' (p. 7). These findings concurred with Tang et al.'s (2013) study on 13 Cambodian undergraduate students between the age of 19-22 who were American-born. Therefore, parental pressure were often drivers in their desire to pursue STEM careers. And, while some of the

students in Phommasa et al.'s study agreed with the observation of direct parental pressure, others reached a compromise with their parents in major or career selection. Finally, while some students understood parental expectations for them to pursue a career in STEM, they did not feel that their parents pressured them to comply. Instead, they felt that their parents simply wanted them to be "successful and happy," regardless of their academic major or professional career (p. 8).

On career performance. Research on how parental influences affected the performance of SEAA college students had mix results. While some revealed that parental involvement may yield negative results, others reported that parents may serve as both motivators and meaning-makers to help students persist and reach achievement.

According to Truong and Miller (2008), one of the reasons that SEAA college students persisted toward their goals was because of their academic satisfaction. They noted that "students who are more satisfied with their academic life may be more likely to persist in their academic endeavors." (p. 489). They argued that environmental and social support, such as parental support, had positive influences on achieving academic goals. Their claims were consistent with Gloria and Ho's (2003) study of the effects of environmental, social, and psychological on the academic persistence of 160 Asian American undergraduates, of which 18 are Vietnamese. These findings were troubling considering that the Fouad et al.'s (2008) study suggested that SEAA were not as likely as than other groups in the AA umbrella to have family support, such as academic and career encouragement from parents and discussion with parents on career options and choice. However, in Truong and Miller 's (2018) examination of whether intergenerational family conflicted and social cognitive factors affected the academic satisfaction of 111 SEAA

college student, they found that the level of family support may not be necessary for academic satisfaction among SEAA college students.

In Chhuon et al.'s (2010) study, the researchers found that participants perceive family obligation to be a motivator for as well as a barrier toward educational goals and success. For example, one of the participants revealed that her parents had low expectations because of her sibling's struggles in higher education. However, her parents' expectations did not match her personal goal in pursuing and succeeding in college. Meanwhile, another participant expressed how his parents emphasized to him that succeeding in higher education will help lift his family out of poverty. As a result, one participant's mother allowed her to be free of household chores when her educational obligations, such as assignments and exams, become overwhelming.

In Tang et al. (2014), the researchers found that some of the participants' response to their parents' inability to help them navigate higher education was to use their situation as a strength. For example, one participant's realization that she would be the first in her family to secure a bachelor's degree motivated her to persist through a four-year institution. In fact, Tang et al. (2014) documented that a major motivator for participants to value education and pursue higher education was their parents' background and journey as refugees. Although the parents of the participants did not have a history in higher education, their emotional encouragement and sometimes financial support of their children aspired their children to earn a college degree and improve their children's future.

The spectrum of parental involvement in the academic and career choices of SEAA college students ranged from no involvement, to support, to pressure, and to no support. And the

results of parental involvement on the academic and career performance of their children was also as diverse. Among the 34 participants in Museus' (2013b) study, only two communicated that parental pressures were excessive and affected their ability to succeed in a negative way. This was consistent with Chiang, Fisher, Collins, and Ting's (2015) study on the challenges that seven Hmong American high school students faced in accessing higher education. The majority of these students identified parental pressure to achieve academically as positive motivators toward achieving success. Furthermore, their internalization of the pressure pushed them to enter higher education even though "they feel an obligation to support their family immediately after high school, rather than going to college to continue their education" (p. 25). Thus, parental pressure became a positively rather than adversely impact their academic and career performance.

Thus, for some, parental pressure was not a negative experience. In Lor's (2008) study on the factors that contribute to the enrollment, persistence, and completion of college in the University of Wisconsin System, Lor found that parents were contributing factors in students' academic success. Parents provided emotional and spiritual support, and they offered encouragement, often in the form of stories of struggle as refugees from Laos.

While parental pressure was a barrier to academic and career success, they were also support mechanisms. This finding aligned in Museus' (2013a) study on the relationship between parents and educational outcome of SEAA college students. Museus' (2013a) reported that parental expectations and support contribute to the academic and career success of their children.

In Xiong and Lam's (2013) study on supports and barriers in Hmong American college students, they found that their parents and families were motivators that help students persisted and succeeded in college. Participants view college success as a form of reciprocating their parents' sacrifices. One participant explained that her motivation to succeed in college was not just a personal goal. According to her, it was 'not just to better [herself] but to better the whole family' because 'getting a higher education, a better job, and then taking care of them' is how she gives back to her parents and family.

While making a career decision based upon the consideration of another, such as parents and family members, may be viewed as immature from the perspective of an individualistic orientation, being able to navigate and negotiate career choice while considering the needs of others, such as parents and family, may be considered as mature in a collectivistically oriented worldview. As Fouad et al. (2008) indicated, some SEAA made career decisions that were congruent with the directions of their parents. However, just because a SEAA college student acted in congruence with parental pressure did not mean that they were sacrificing their personal career performance, particularly career goals. Among the 12 participants in Fouad et al.'s (2008) study, half of them set career goals in accordance to their personal desire to secure work enjoyment and financial rewards.

Peers

Surla and Poon's (2015) study on the social influences of Filipino American and SEAA high school seniors found that parents and peers are important source for college choice decision-making. The involvement of peers extended to career interests, choice, and persistence.

On career interest, choice, & performance. According to Yang (2008), many SEAA students depended on their peers more than their parents for educational and career development because they are not getting the advice, guidance, and support from their parents. Yang did not claim that SEAA parents do not care about their children. Instead, Yang argued that their parents had limited knowledge to assist their children for educational and career success because of their limited understanding of higher education. In addition, Yang noted that it contributed to communication challenges and language barriers between parents and children.

In studying the support that first-generation Cambodian American college students benefit from their relationship with parents, peers, and Cambodian American student organizations, Tang, Kim, and Haviland (2013) found that their undergraduate participants share similar experiences to the first-generation college student population. First, the students in Tang et al.'s (2013) study had parents who are supportive of their children's higher education pursuits; however, their parents lacked the knowledge to help them with the intricacies of higher education. There was not a shortage of emotional, financials, and motivational support from these parents; however, they lacked the "instrumental support (e.g., with homework)" to support their children (p. 7).

Patel et al.'s (2008) study on the career decision-making self-efficacy of Vietnamese adolescents revealed that peer support contributes to confidence in career decision making among participants. Peer served as part of a social support network to help students discover answers to questions that students may have on academic and career interests and choices. Pate et. al.'s (2008) noted that "Research suggested that both parents and peers exert important influence over the career development of Asian American students" but concluded that "Although parents are the most influence in shaping career choice, peers exert the most influence

in the individual's daily behaviors" (p. 222). That is, both parents and peers had an important role in the career development of SEAA students but peer influence may often counterpoise parental influences. Furthermore, peer-pressure among AA students may often overrode parental pressure on academic and career-related matters (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992, 1993). Patel et al. (2008) found that peer support is more predictive of career decision-making efficacy among Vietnamese American students than other family support, socioeconomic status, gender, or racism.

Tang et al. (2013) showed that a connection existed between the college success of Cambodian American college students and peer support, particularly peers that come from the same ethnic and cultural background. These peers not only served as emotional and motivational support but also worked informal peer mentors and guides to help students succeed. Tang et al. (2013) concluded, "Peers contributed a different type of support than family that enabled students to confront hindrances in college" (p. 11). Tang et al.'s (2013) findings aligned with many researchers who find that SEAA who connect with peers within their cultural communities on campus increase their chances for educational and career success (Museus, 2008, 2013, 2014; Museus, Shiroma, & Dizon, 2016; Museus & Quaye, 2009). Tang et al.'s (2013) findings were also consistent with an earlier study by Chhuon and Hudley (2008) that examined factors that support Cambodian American students' success in adjusting to higher education. Similarly, a study by Pao Lor (2008) on the key life experiences that contributed to the matriculation of Hmong American college students found that peers influence the enrollment, retention, and completion of college. One of Lor's (2008) participant shares, "One of American friends was going to go to college and I was doing better than he was. I was receiving better grades, so maybe I should go too. If he does and I don't, I would be a 'loser.' My peers motivated me to

succeed and go to college and graduate from college." (p. 43). Peers served as positive motivational models for success in higher education (Wright & Boun, 2011).

As a result, SEAA students turned to their peers even though their peers do not have the maturity or understanding of the educational and career success in order to provide appropriate advice. For instance, while peers had positive influences on SEAA college students, peers also contributed to SEAA college students believing that their difficulties in academic settings was the result not of historical or structural circumstances but of their inability to learn and succeed (Yang, 2004). Consequently, while peers served as a sounding board for SEAA students as they attempt to navigate their academics and careers, they were also a source of discouragement and ridicule (Chhuon & Hudley, 2011; Tang & Kao, 2012).

Institutional Agents

Institutional agents had both negative and positive impact on the career development of college students. One study showed that institutional agents (e.g., administrators, faculty, staff) played a key role in helping SEAA college students access social capital (Museus & Mueller, 2018). Furthermore, a second independent study illustrated the positive impact that social capital had on the ability of these students to access, adjust, and succeed in higher education (Palmer & Maramba, 2015). Additional Museus, Shiroma and Dizon's (2016) study examined the SEAA college students and documented that these students' connection to a "cultural community" through faculty and staff aid them in college success. However, such studies did not examine the role that institutional agents have on the career development of SEAA college students. Thus, to review the role that institutional agents played, my study turns to literature that directly and indirectly includes or mentions SEAA college students and their career development.

On career interest. Zhang, Lee, Kenworthy, Chiang, Holaday Spencer, Poll-Hunter, and Sanchez (2017) studied how Southeast and East Asian American medical students perceive careers in academic medicine. They found that students who have exposure to faculty mentors who are in a leadership role in academic medicine and who "share the same background" as their students are more likely to explore or take interest in such careers (p.8).

On career choice. Xion and Lam (2013) explored the factors that affect the success of Hmong American college students. They found that undergraduates turn to faculty for discussions regarding graduate education and careers. The researchers provided one student's experience: "Kou' s professors ' helped whenever [he] had questions' , such as ' What careers are out there?' and explained what he ' needed to enter graduate programmes or possible careers'" (p. 138). Xion and Lam (2013) explained that these students do not turn to their counselors as much as to their faculty. The researchers wrote, "Underutilisation of guidance counsellors may explain why Hmong students seek guidance on career goals, research opportunities and graduate school information from professors during both undergraduate and graduate years" (p. 140). Faculty members appeared to be in an influential role in the career development of these students.

On career performance. Lor (2008) studied the crucial life experiences that contribute to the ability of Hmong American to complete college. Lor (2008) found that teachers and professors are critical in influencing these students to matriculate, which in turn helps them with their career. And, Uy, Kim, and Khuon (2016) examined the college and career readiness of 1.5 generation SEAA in New England. They reported that faculty mentors are key resources for SEAA college students in their career preparation.

Search for Theoretical Framework

In this section, I will explain the process by which I arrived at the more appropriate theoretical framework despite the absence of a career development model for AA in general and SEAA in particular. This section will contain two subsections: (1) retracing of my search for a career development framework and (2) review of (a) Holland's Vocational Personalities, (b) Super's Self-Concept, and (c) Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT).

Arriving at a theoretical framework for the study on the career development of SEAA college students was a process of choosing among a list of the least insufficient models. First, I started with what career development scholars consider to be the most well-established career development theories. According to Watkins (1994), Brown and Brooks (1996), Leung (2008), and Patton (2014), Super's (1969, 1980, 1990) and Holland's (1985, 1997) were "the most influential writers in the field of career development" (Patton, 2014, p. 67). So, included Holland and Super.

Next, I searched for a theory that had the following characteristics: (1) well-respected among career development scholars career development scholars regard ; (2) recent in the history of career development theories; and (3); have demonstrated to be relevant to college students in the U.S. According to First, Leung (2008) and Patton (2014), SCCT was the most widely researched theory this decade that is prominent not only in the U.S. but in the world. Summarizing the impact of Lent, Brown, and Hackett's (2002) and Lent's (2005) SCCT, Flores, Navarro, and Ali (2017) wrote, "SCCT has been a dominant force over the past 22 years in providing practitioners and researchers with a guiding theoretical framework for understanding career behaviors and outcomes and for developing career-related interventions" (p. 6). Below is

a brief analysis of the three career development theories: (1) Theory of Vocational Personalities in Work Environment, (2) Self-concept Theory of Career Development, and (3) SCCT.

Holland's Theory of Vocational Personalities in Work Environment

Holland's tenets. Some scholars considered Holland's theory of career development to be one of the most impactful and researched career development theory (Fouad, 2007; Spokane, Meir, and Catalano, 2000; Swanson & Gore, 2000; Tracey, 2008). The theory assumed that vocational interests are expressions of people's personalities. Holland conceptualized these vocational interests into six types--Realistic (R), Investigative (I), Artistic (A), Social (S), Enterprising (E), and Conventional (C)--and arranged them in the order of RIASEC on a hexagon to express their interrelatedness (Swanson & Fouad, 2015). After assessing their vocational personality, the theory proceeded to generate a three-letter code from the interest types. The letter in the code can guide their career choice and predict their career satisfaction. If people chose a career that had high "congruence" between their vocational interests and vocational environment, they would achieve career stability and satisfaction because there was a high degree of fit between their personality and their work environment . That is, if their career matched their personality (e.g., abilities, attitudes, motivation, knowledge, skills, values), they would achieve career happiness.

Critiques of Holland's theory. Some scholars question the adequacy of Holland's theory in cross-cultural settings and to address the career development of racial/ethnic minorities (Brooks, 1990; Leonard, 1985; Leong, 1985; Leung, 2008; Song & Glick, 2004; Tang, 2002). Song and Glick (2004) criticized, "Holland's vocational theory was developed mainly for the study of the white population" (p. 1418). In addition, Kantamneni (2014) noted that several

researchers test the validity of Holland's theory on racial, ethnic, and cultural groups; these researchers included Rounds & Tracey (1996), Fouad, Harmon, and Borgen (1997), Armstrong, Hubert, and Rounds (2003), Flores, Spanierman, Armstrong, and Velez (2006), and Fouad and Kantamneni (2009, 2011). However, Kantamneni (2014), whose own study uses Holland's theory to examine the vocational interest of Asian Americans, Middle-Eastern Americans, and Native Americans, acknowledged that these tests were "often with the normative sample of the Strong Interest Inventories. This type of sampling has the potential to be problematic because some racial/ethnic groups may not be highly represented in normative samples" (p. 134). In short, norming group for the development and evolvement of Holland's theory (1985, 1997) was by and for White Americans.

Furthermore, Holland (1997) postulated that career choice is not only an expression of a person's personality but also a reflection of their self-esteem and -confidence. The theory concluded that people in Enterprising (E) and Realistic (R) occupations have a high level of self-esteem and -confidence. It also held that people in the humanities and social science professions have a moderate level of self-esteem and -confidence. However, in a comparative study consisting of Whites and minorities, Trusty, Ng, and Plata (2000) found that the moderate level of self-esteem and -confidence only applies to Whites in humanities and social science professions. In addition, Tang, Fouad, and Smith (1999) revealed that the vocational interests of Asian Americans did not adhere to the inventory that Holland's theory offers for career development. Instead, they documented that career decision-making for Asian Americans depended more on family background and acculturation. In traditional Asian cultures, a person's vocational interest and accomplishment was not an expression of not necessarily an expression

of one's personality but a reflection of family expectation (Leong, 1986; Leong & Serafica, 1995). Furthermore, Kim, Atkins, and Umemoto (2001) pointed that Holland's theory failed to recognize the collectivistic orientation of Asian Americans. Instead, the theory assumed that AA shared the same individualistic orientation that was present in Holland's norming group, which was more representative of Western culture and tradition (Tang, 2002). Thus, AA college students did not necessarily have an uninterrupted choice in choosing a college major; instead, the selection was a strategic compromise between the student and the family, particularly the student's parents (Tang, 2002).

Super's Self-concept Theory of Career Development

Super's tenets. Super's theory of career development had notoriety not only in the United States but also in the world (Leong & Serafica, 2001; Leung, 2008; Patton & Lokan, 2001; Watanabe-Muraoka, Senzaki, & Herr, 2001). Super's (1990) model theorized that individuals experience life stages that consisted of growth, exploration, establishment, management, and disengagement. Each stage represented a point in a person's life, and each stage had career tasks to be fulfilled. For instance, in the exploration stage, which Super considered to be between 15 and 24 years of age, a college student should be able to not only understand their personal interests, skills, and values but also make career decisions that align with their understanding. Super theorized that career development, which included career choice, was a process that involved a person's self-concept. Leung (2008) summarized self-concept as "a product of complex interactions among a number of factors, including physical and mental growth, personal experiences, and environmental characteristics and stimulation" (Leung, 2008,

p. 120). Consequently, Super considered a person to have "career maturity" if they were able to achieve the abilities associated with their stage.

Critiques of Super's theory. Although Super's theory placed more emphasis on the influence of social and environmental context than Holland's theory, some scholars questioned whether self-concept was appropriate for AA who make career decisions in conjunction with their family (Hardin, Leong, & Osipow, 2001; Leong & Chou, 1994; Leong & Hardin,2002; Leong, Hardin, & Gupta, 2010; Leong & Serafica, 1995; Leung, 2008). These scholars pointed out that the flaw in Super's self-concept was similar to Holland's vocational-personal interests concept; both assumed that the individual was the sole decision-maker made in their career development. Leung (2008) noted that "there cultural variations in the importance of self in decision-making, and in some cultures important life decisions such as career choices are also subjected to considerations that are familial and collective in nature" (p. 122). Specifically, neither accounted for traditional AA cultural concepts such as filial piety and family loyalty. Consequently, when some researchers used Super's self-concept concept to study the career development of Asian Americans, they reached the conclusion that had lesser career maturity than Whites (Leong, 1991; Luzzo, 1992). However, Leong (1991) pointed out that both groups were similar in vocational identity, and Luzzo (1992) explained that the two groups did not differ in terms of career decision-making abilities. Reviewing these studies, Hardin, Leong, and Osipow (2001) charged that the use of the career-maturity measurement confused career-interdependence within the AA culture with career-immaturity. Thus, Hardin et al. (2001) did not consider Super's theory to be an appropriate tool for studying the career development of Asian Americans.

Social Cognitive Career Theory

SCCT's Tenets. Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) was a model that attempted to explain career interest, choice, and goals through Bandura's (1977, 1997) self-efficacy theory. Bandura's self-efficacy concept assumed interdependency between individuals and their environment. SCCT theorized three processes of career development: how people (1) develop their academic and occupational interest, (2) make career decisions, and (3) maintain career goals. Central to each process are three factors: (a) self-efficacy, (b) outcome expectations, and (c) goal performance.

Self-efficacy was the belief that one can be successful in completing an action (Lent, 2005). Self-efficacy affected the way in which individuals pursue and maintain a set of behaviors as they interact with their environment. Outcome expectations were the "personal beliefs about the consequences or outcomes of performing particular behavior" (Lent et al., 2002, p. 262). That is, it was what one predicted as the result of their actions. Beliefs included extrinsic rewards for behaviors, performance outcomes, and consequences. According to SCCT, self-efficacy, coupled with outcome expectations, drove career interests, which drives career choices (Lent, 1994).

Finally, personal goals pertained to a person's intention for pursuing an outcome or engagement (Lent, 2005). According to Lent (2005), there were two types of personal goals: (a) content and (b) performance. Content goals related to selecting an activity. Performance goals referred to the degree of performance or accomplishment a person intends to reach. For SCCT, career satisfaction and persistence were dependent on the personal goals that people set and

pursue; and, since the individual set these goals, they were more likely to pursue and maintain an activity long after extrinsic rewards are present.

Critiques of SCCT. Among the three influential theories, SCCT was the most relevant theory for SEAA because it accounted for contextual variables. However, it had several limitations. First, since its developer as well as its norms was based upon White middle-class Americans. Scholars, such as Hardin et al. (2001) and Leung (2008) questioned its validity for studying ethnic minorities.

Second, Fouad and Kantamneni (2013) cautioned that SCCT additional research was needed on its appropriateness for understanding "how social cognitive career variables operate with other cultural variables, such as ethnic identity, acculturation, and cultural values (p. 225)." I believe that this gap in SCCT's experience ethnicity and culture had more to do with the scarcity of studies on SEAA, particularly on their career development. For instance, although some researchers used SCCT to study Southeast Asian American college students, only two studies—Truong and Miller (2018) and Byars-Winston et al. (2010)—even partially examined SEAA college student career development. Truong and Miller (2018) applied SCCT to study "Family and Social Cognitive Predictors of Southeast Asian America college Student's Academic Satisfaction," and Byars-Winston et al. (2010) lumps Southeast Asian Americans with African American, Latino/a Americans, and Native Americans in their "Influence of Social Cognitive and Ethnic Variables on Academic Goals of Underrepresented Students in Science and Engineering: A Multiple-Group Analysis" study.

Finally, a criticism of SCCT was that it did not account for individuals having to deal with stereotypes. Some scholars questioned the relevancy of SCCT along with Holland's and Super's theory in understanding the lived career development experiences of Asian American students in general and Southeast Asian Americans in particularly (e.g., Leong, Hardin, & Gupta, 2010; Tang, 2009; Harding et al., 2008). For example, Poon's (2014) research demonstrated that stereotypes, such as the model minority myth, were barriers for Asian Americans participants attempting to enter into careers of their choice.

Selection of Theoretical Framework

Considering Holland's and Super's major flaws as they relate to the career development of AA in general and SEAA in particular and the recent 2000s and extensive attention and research in the U.S., I turned to SCCT as the better alternative (e.g., Ali, S. R., & McWhirter, 2006; Byars-Winston, 2006; Byars-Winston, Estrada, Howard, Davis, & Zalapa, 2010; Gibbons & Borders, 2010; Gibbons & Shoffner, 2004; Gushue & Whitson, 2006; Ojeda, Flores, & Navarro, 2011; Olson, 2014; Raque-Bogdan & Lucas, 2016). While there is not a career development theoretical framework specific for SEAA college students, empirical research demonstrates that SCCT is more appropriate for my study because it is most suitable for studying college students from racial and ethnic minorities (Brown & Segrist, 2017; Carpi, Ronan, Falconer, & Lents, 2017; Dickinson, Abrams, & Tokar, 2017; Fouad & Santana, 2017). In addition, SCCT is useful for studying socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds (Flores et al., 2017; Garriott, Flores, & Martens, 2013; Gibbons & Borders, 2010; Hughes & Gibbons, 2018; Juntunen, Ali, & Pietrantonio, 2013; Turner et al., 2019). Finally, SCCT has

been applicable in examining marginalized communities (Borrego et al., 2018; Brown & Lent, 2017; Dutta et al., 2015). Thus, Fouad and Kantamneni (2013) concluded:

> In sum, because of its emphasis on contextual influences in the career development process, SCCT lends itself well to understanding the role of cultural influences on the career development process for racial/ethnic minorities. In fact, it appears that much of the recent research examining the role of cultural influences on career development had utilized a social cognitive framework; as a whole, this research had provided cross-cultural support for the social cognitive career model with various racial/ethnic groups. (p. 225)

Although SCCT has room for future development, it is a frame work that scholars have applied to Asian Americans college students (Borrego et al., 2018; Hui & Lent, 2018; Kodama & Huynh, 2017; Kim & Choi, 2018; Lowinger & Song, 2017). Furthermore, researchers have deployed SCCT in studies that include SEAA college students within their broader studies (Byars-Winston, Estrada, Howard, Davis, & Zapala, 2010; Patel et al., 2008; Truong & Miller, 2018).

Furthermore, the international community had also embraced SCCT and conducted a plethora of career development theory based upon it (Arulmani, Van Laar, & Easton, 2003; Hampton, 2005; Nota, Ferrari, Solberg, & Soresi, 2007; Patton, Bartrum, & Creed, 2004). And, empirical studies show that SCCT is applicable to American college students. It has been applicable to prospective college students (Flores & Martens, 2013; Kantamneni, Mccain, Shada, Hellwege, & Tate, 2018). And, it is employable to study enrolled college students (Fouad & Smith, 1999; Garriott, Flores, & Martens, 2013; Hui & Lent, 2018; Kantamneni et al., 2018; Kodama & Huynh, 2018; Lowering & Song, 2017; Miller, Sendrowitz, Connacher, Blanco,

Peña, Bernardi, & Morere, 2009; Shen, 2015; Wright, Jenkins-Guarnieri, & Murdock, 2012). Consequently, I selected SCCT over similarly renowned models as the theoretical framework for this study.

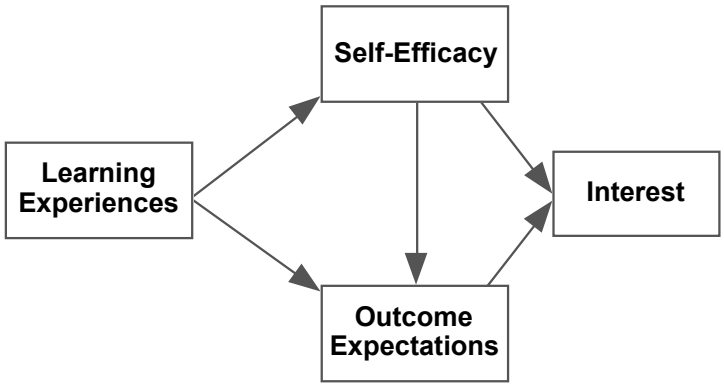
Social Cognitive Career Theory

Principles of SCCT

SCCT is rooted in Albert Bandura's (1977, 1986) Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) (Lent et al., 1994, 2002). SCT is a learning theory that applies to academic performance as well as career development of college students (Bandura, 1986b). Anchoring SCCT within SCT, Lent et al. (1994) explain that SCCT "focuses on several cognitive-person variables (e.g., self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and goals), and on how these variables interact with other aspects of the person and his or her environment (e.g., gender, ethnicity, social support, and barriers) to help shape the course of career development" (Lent et al., 1994, p. 6). SCCT paints career development as a dynamic process that involves person-attributes, including predispositions and special abilities, and contextual environment influencing career-related thought, action, and behaviors (Lent et al., 1994, 2000, 2003, 2005). Central to the career development process is the three career-relevant social cognitive variables: (a) self-efficacy beliefs, (b) outcome expectations, and (c) goal representations (Lent et al., 1994). These social cognitive mechanisms are central to SCCT. Figure 2.24 represents the casual relationship among them:

Figure 2.24

SCT Variables (Self-Efficacy, Outcome Expectations, and Goals) in SCCT



Self-Efficacy. Self-efficacy is "the conviction that one can successfully execute the behavior required to produce the outcomes" (Bandura, 1986, p. 193). In SCCT, it is the "I can do this" belief. Self-efficacy influences outcome expectation and is predictive of career-related choices (Lent et al., 1994).

Outcome expectations. Outcome expectations is notion that "people act on their judgements of what they can do, as well as on their beliefs about the likely effects of various actions" (Bandura, 1986, p. 231). In SCCT, it is the "If I do this, that will happen" mindset. Outcome expectations is predicative of career interest (e.g., "I want to do this") (Borrego et al., 2018, p. 144) and goals.

SCCT posits that personal inputs (e.g., 1.5- or second-generation immigrant, Southeast Asian American college students), contextual background (e.g., family influences, collectivist culture, racist societal stereotypes), and learning experiences (e.g., successful performance in liberal arts or in science, technology, engineering, or math courses) directly and indirectly drive both self-efficacy and outcome expectations (e.g., rewards, including social and physical) (Lent et al., 1994).

Goal representations. A goal is "the determination to engage in a particular activity or to effect particular future outcome" (Lent et al., 1994, p. 85). It is the "I must achieve that in

order for this to occur" mentality (Lent et al., 1994). Goal representations in career development includes "career plans, decisions, aspirations, and expressed choices" (Lent et al., 1994, p. 85).

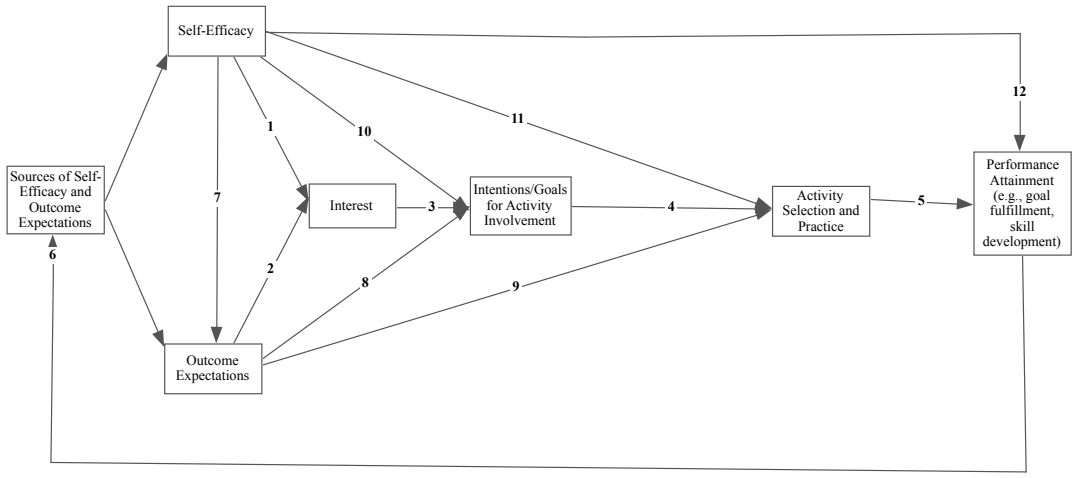
Interlocking Models in SCCT

SCCT postulates that personal attributes, external environmental factors, and overt behaviors influences one another bidirectionally in three areas of career development: (1) academic and career interest, (2) career choice, and (3) career performance, which involves setting and acting on goals. Each area has a causal model, and the models interlock to represent the SCCT framework.

Career Interest Development Model (CID)

Figure 2.25

Career Interest Development Model



Source: Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994)

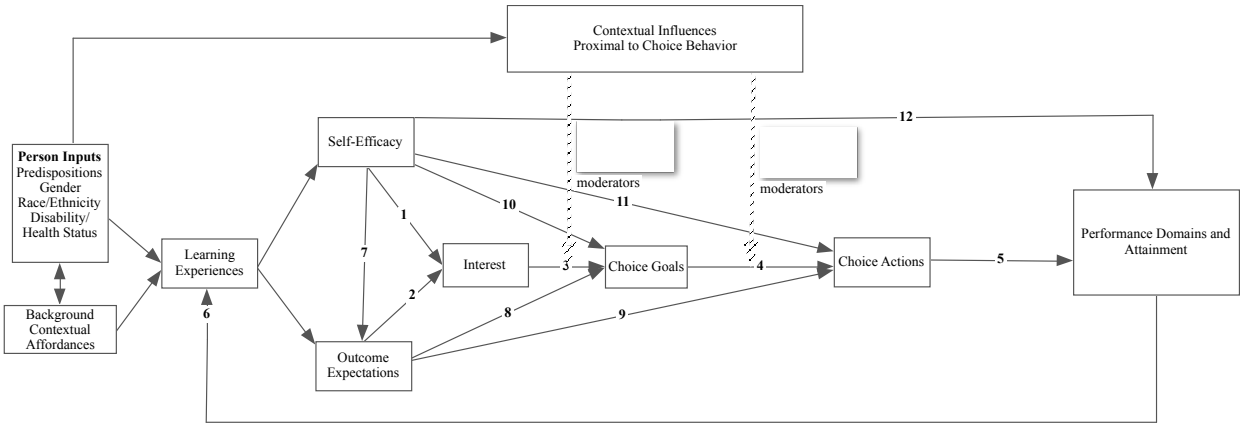
The interest development model starts with the "sources" (e.g., early childhood and adolescent exposure to career related activities) of self-efficacy and outcome expectations, which in conjunction drive academic and career interests (Lent et al., 1994, p. 88). Lent et al.'s (1994) defines career interests as the "patterns of likes, dislikes, and indifference regarding career-

relevant activities and occupations" (p. 88). Together, self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and interests influence intentions and goals, which directly impact the activities that a person selects and indirectly impact their goal performance (e.g., successes, failures). The results of performance feeds back into the sources that drive self-efficacy and outcome expectations. Figure 2.26 displays the patterns.

Career Choice Model (CCM)

Figure 2.26

Career Choice Model



Source: Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994)

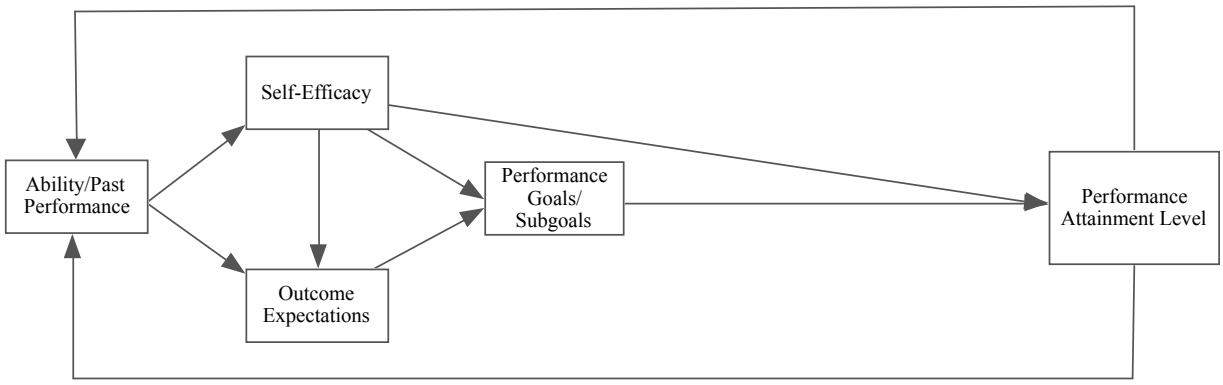
In 2000, Lent et al. elaborated on the nature of contextual background and its role in career choice. First, the nature of contextual background can be "objective" or "subjective" nature. What a person experiences (e.g., availability of quality education and financial resources) is subjective. How a person cognitively processes, interprets, or perceives the experience (Lent et al., 2000) is subjective. Second, contextual background can be distal (e.g., ethnic identity) or proximal (e.g., parental influences, college campus climate) in its influence of career choice. Distal factors impact learning experiences, which affects the development of self-efficacy and

outcome expectations. Finally, contextual background can be "affordance" (support) or barriers (Lent et al., 2000, p. 37). For example, personal inputs (e.g., race, gender) can advantageous (e.g., racial or ethnic privileges) or disadvantages (e.g., racial or ethnic stereotypes, career segregation) depending on the social context (Lent et al., 2000). Figure 2.17 illustrates this concept. The two vertical arrows running from the contextual influences that are proximal to choose behaviors indicate two points in which SCCT theorists believe that supports or barriers can mediate the career development process. The first mediation point is between interests and choice goals. The second point is between choice goals and choice actions.

Career Performance Model (CPM)

Figure 2.27

Career Performance Model



Source: Lent, Brown, and Hackett (1994)

Figure 2.27 illustrates the causal sequence in the career performance model The model of performance theorizes that performance outcome comes from the relationship among three elements: (1) ability, (2) self-efficacy, and (3) goals. Through self-efficacy and outcome expectations, ability (e.g., achievement, aptitude, past performances) indirectly impacts performance. However, ability directly influences the level of performance. In addition, self-

efficacy and outcome expectations directly affects the ambitiousness of performance goal that individuals set.

Model Minority Myth & SEAA Career Development

In the final section of Chapter 2, I will review the origin of the MMM and then examine the literature on the MMM's impact on the career development of AA in general and SEAA college students in particular. Similar to previous sections in this chapter, I will have to draw from studies on AA because those studies are more plentiful than ones on SEAA college students.

Anatomy of a Myth

MMM Definition. Atkin, Yoo, Jager, and Yeh (2018) summarized the model minority myth as follow: "The model minority myth is a stereotype that posits that Asian Americans are academically and economically more successful than other racial minority groups due to their individual effort, values of hard work and perseverance, and belief in American meritocracy" (p. 108). In short, it embodies the American Dream. Part of the ideal of the American Dream is that achievement is done through pure self-sufficiency, or to be able to pull oneself up with their own boots strap. Ngo and Lee (2007) explained:

> According to these researchers, embedded in the model minority stereotype is the implicit and explicit message that the political structures of American society allow for success and the achievement of the American Dream. The stereotype asserts that Asian Americans are able to make it on their own without special assistance. Asian Americans are positioned as the model for other minorities to follow. This discourse asserts that the "failure" of African Americans and other minorities is due to a lack of industry and values and not due to the fact that America is a fundamentally racist society (Osajima, 1987). Thus, the model minority stereotype is used to silence and contain Asian Americans even as it silences other racial groups. (pp 415-416)

Therefore, the MMM proclaims that AA do not need assistance because they are self-sufficient and that other minorities, particularly African Americans, do not achieve because of their own personal and internal cultural failures. Consequently, AA do not complain about the status quo in America AA do not complain and there is no racism in the system that calls for complaints.

Origin & Evolution of the Model Minority Myth

1940s

Prior to the 1960s, the White power structure and established media considered Asians were unfit to be Americans, especially if being American meant owing land, marrying Whites, being naturalized citizens, or working as more than mere laborers on farms and servants in the service industry. But, the 1960s was a turning point in the old Asian stereotypes, and the appearance of the turnaround came at the convenience and benefits of White powers in America. Ellen Wu (2014), a historian and researcher on the birth and success of the myth of the model minority documented:

> Indeed, before the 1940s and 1950s , whites had deemed ethnic Japanese and Chinse unassimilable aliens unfit for membership in the nation. Americans had subjected so-called Orientals to the regime of Asiatic Exclusion, marking them as *definitively not-white*, and systematically shutting them out of civic participant through such measures as bars to naturalization, occupational discrimination, and residential segregation.
>
> (2014, p. 2)

When and how did the fortunes of Asians changed in America to a point that Asians transformed from being undesirables to being admirables? Wu pointed to the self-serving

interests of Whites to improve the image of the U.S. on the global stage while maintaining racial hierarchy and White supremacy :

> Beginning in World War II, however, the United Sates' geopolitical ambitions triggered seismic changes in population notions of nationhood and belong, which in turn challenged the stronghold for white supremacy. As a result, federal officials, behavioral scientists, social critics, and ordinary people working in tandem to dismantle Exclusion. Yet such a decision posed a problem for America's racial order and citizenship boundaries. The standing of Asian Americans was no longer certain, and the terms of their inclusion into the nation needed to be determined. A host of stakeholders resolved this dilemma by the mid-1960s with the intervention of a new stereotyped of Asian Americans as the model minority—a racial group distinct from the white majority, but lauded as well assimilated, upwardly mobile, politically nonthreatening, and *definitively not-black*. (2014, p. 2)

But, what was happening in the 1960s that made the conditions ripe for growing the myth of the model minority?

1960s

According to many scholars, including Takaki (1998) and Wu and Kidder (2006), the MMM was the response that Whites authorities and popular media created to rebuff the demands the Civil Rights Movement, specifically the call from African Americans and Hispanic Americans, for social and racial justice and equality. According to Wu and Kidder (2006), this stereotype "contains a germ of truth" (para. 4) but is "exaggerated, distorted and often presented without causes and contexts" (para. 4). Furthermore, Wu and Kidder (2006) advanced that "White Folks" use the model minority stereotype in an attempt to "turn Asian Americans into 'racial mascot' to camouflage an agenda" (para. 10). That is, the majority Whites and their political, social, and media networks needed to sew together a mascot to mask systemic racism inherent in institutions that they were masters of in America and to show that the core of African American's social and economic pains were within themselves and their communities.

1980s

By the 1980s, the myth of the model minority reached maturity when political rhetoric and mass media in married (Osajima, 2008). At a meeting with Asian American leaders in 1984, U.S. President Ronald Reagan stood in the Old Executive Office Building and states:

> Asian and Pacific Americans have helped preserve that dream by living up to the bedrock values that make us a good and a worthy people. I'm talking about principles that begin with the sacred worth of human life, religious faith, community spirit, and the responsibility of parents and schools to be teachers of tolerance, hard work, fiscal responsibility, cooperation, and love. (Reagan, 1984)

According to Reagan, the reason for the statistics that "the median income of Asian and Pacific American families is much higher than the total American average" was because the "American Dream" is "real" and reachable.

Powerful politicians. President Reagan (1984) implied that if a racial category has not achieved the American Dream it is because their values are antithesis to American values. Regan insinuated that other races were lazy, irresponsible, uncooperative, and hateful. He lectured that it is the inherent values of these races and not racist policies and practices in the U.S. that cause economic, political, racial, and social inequality in America. "After all," Reagan adds, "it is values, not programs and policies, that serve as our nation's compass" (1984). He perpetuated Asian Americans as a model to "point the way to a promising future…despite times not long ago when you [Asian Americans] experienced terrible discrimination." Thus, Reagan claimed that racist policies and programs are not the root of economic, social, and political disenfranchisement among racial minority groups; instead, it is their inherent values as a racial group that determines their success or failure in pursuing the America Dream. According to Reagan, Asian Americans had attained the American Dream because they were inherently hardworking; academically gifted; and financially successful despite past racial discriminations.

Ultimately, Reagan blames racial minorities, not public institutions, for inequality in America because, in his eyes, institutional racism no longer exists in the U.S.

Mass media establishment. And, in the 1980s, U.S. media outlets further perpetuated the myth of the model minority. In 1986, *NBC Nightly News*, *CBS 60 Minutes*, *U.S. News & World Report*, and *Time* had already broadcasted on television and on news magazines productions such as "Asian-Americans: The Drive to Excel" and "Why are Asian Americans doing so exceptionally well in school?" *Fortune* and *New Republic* followed with titles such as "The Triumph of Asian-Americans," "America's greatest success story," and "America's Super Minority". And, *Newsweek* published an article titled "Asian Americans: A 'Model Minority'" as part of its college campus series (Takaki, 1998). These messages

Present day. A multitude of scholars argued that the MMM attempted to set Asian Americans as pawns for reinforcing racial hierarchy and for reproducing White Supremacy. Since its inception, the MMM did this by triangulating Asian Americans between Whites and other communities of color, creating racial tension among minorities (Kim, 1999; Kim & Lee, 2001; Poon, Squire, Kodama, Byrd, Manzano…Bishundat, 2016). Thus, the model minority stereotype rhetorically asked, "What is wrong with other racial minorities (e.g. African Americans, Hispanic Americans)? If Asian Americans can achieve, why not other racial categories? It must be because they are lazy and does not believe in the American Dream. It does not have anything to do with racist policies or programs!" The myth washed away history of slavery and institutionalized racism in America and attempts to positions and co-op AA to be in a system of racial hierarchy with Whites at the top of the pyramid (Wu & Kidder, 2006). Critics of the model minority myth explained that the myth worked to help Whites deny the existence of racial inequality in the United States (Bitney & Liu, 2018, Chou & Feagin, 2010; Hurh & Kim,

1989; Lee, 1997). They argued that racism and race relations in America was not just a Black-White issue but also was one that included Asian Americans. Such researchers believed that the model minority stereotype was rooted in racism and that the model minority myth relegates AA to technical and non-leadership role, maintaining an "American Apartheid" that privileges Whites at the top of the pyramid (Lee, 1997; Massey & Denton, 1993; Osajima, 1987; Suzuki, 2002). Ultimately, the model minority myth essentialized Asian Americans and wedged them between Whites and other minorities, particularly Black and Hispanic Americans. It positioned Asian Americans as a pawn to help Whites maneuvered, dodged, and turned a blind eye to racial inequalities that an American "caste" system creates (Massey & Denton, 1993, p. 162). Thus, it essentialized AA.

In the 21st century, the myth was not only prevalent outside of the Asian Americans communities but also within them; and, the byproduct of the model minority stereotype did not necessarily work to the benefit of Asian Americans, particularly SEAA (Assalone & Fann, 2016; Atkins, Yoo, Jager, & Yeh, 2018; Yoo, Miller, & Yip, 2015). For example, Maramba and Palmer (2014) found that the stereotype causes American higher education institutions to overlook or exclude Asian Americans, particularly SEAA, in their design and implementation of services to college students. After all, if all Asian Americans were successful academically and financially, there was no need to develop and implement programs and services for them. Although studies continued to connect the model minority myth to the academic, career, and psychological distress among Asian Americans, higher education researchers, policy makers, and practitioners continue to overlook the needs of Asian Americans college students, especially SEAA (Leong, Inman, Ebreo, Yang, Kinoshita, & Fu, 2007; McGee, Thakore, & Lablance, 2017).

Model Minority Myth & SEAA

While the model minority myth essentialized Asian Americans, it positioned SEAA in terms of extreme binaries, either as model minority or deviant minority (Uy et al., 2016). Some scholars noted that the model minority myth has been applied to SEAA differently than to others under the Asian American umbrella depending on the context (Maramba, Palmer, Kang, & Yull, 2018; Museus, 2014; Ngo & Lee, 2007). On one extreme, the model minority myth lumped SEAA with others under the Asian American umbrella in terms of academic and career success. On the other, it labeled SEAA as the deviant minority. The deviant minority myth coined SEAA as "academically inferior dropouts, welfare sponges, and gang members" (Museus, p. 17). As a result, the two extremes pressed on SEAA college students. On one side has been the pressure to conform to the model minority myth. On the other has been the stereotype that SEAA cannot succeed educationally, occupationally, or socially (Museus, 2014). Thus, the model minority myth continued to marginalizes the lived-experiences of SEAA college students; stereotyped Asian Americans; and dismissed the diversity and complexities within Asian American racial category, which reinforced the practice of aggregating Asian American data (Her, 2014; Kim, 2004; Reyes, 2007; Museus, 2013; Ngo & Lee, 2007).

MMM & SEAA Career Development

In terms of career development, this racial stereotype perpetuated the myth that AA were competent only in math and science careers and therefore were not suitable for careers that require excellence in social, verbal, and leadership abilities (Leong & Grand , 2008; Leong & Serafica, 1995; Museus, 2013; Sue, Bucceri, Lin, Nadal & Torino, 2007). Museus and Park's (2012) study of undergraduate AA students indicated that such racial stereotypes was a pressure

that pushed AA college students to select and pursue science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) majors and career fields. And, a study by Leong and Hayes (1990) found that AA college students AA internalized such stereotypes. These students responded by limiting the exploration of non-STEM majors and careers (e.g., education, government, political science). For SEAA college students, limiting career options can be detrimental to their success in college. Uy et al. (2016) examined the college and career readiness of SEAA college students in a 4-year public university in New England and find that they were not only underprepared in academic preparedness but also in career readiness. According . Uy et al. (2016), career readiness had four components: (1) key cognitive strategies, (2) key content knowledge, (3) key learning skills and techniques (e.g., progress monitoring, test-taking, note-taking, persistence with difficult tasks), (4) key transition knowledge and skills (e.g., college admissions and process knowledge, financial aid, college culture, self-advocacy) (Conley & McGaughy, 2012). These components were crucial for career decisions. As a result, Uy et al. (2016) insisted that SEAA students "need to explore more college and opportunities and to do it earlier so they can understand what content knowledge, learning skills, and cognitive strategies are necessary to succeed in a particular career pathway or college major" in order to make quality career decisions (p. 31).

Career Interests & Choice

Museus (2013) referenced evidence of the effects of racial stereotypes on AA in general and SEAA in particular. Museus (2013) suggested that racial stereotype constructs a ceiling on the career potential of Southeast Asian Americans college students and restricts the choice academic majors and careers of SEAA college students. Racial stereotypes characterized SEAA as being skillful in math and science but not competent in interpersonal communication; thus, the

stereotype concludes that SEAA are not fit for professional, managerial, and leadership positions. Furthermore, Museus (2013) cited studies that indicate that SEAA college students internalize such racial stereotypes. By internalizing the stereotypes, SEAA college students felt the pressure to restrict their academic and career choice to the STEM field. Thus, they avoided exploring non-STEM majors and career options such as education, social work, or political science.

In a quantitative study on choice of college majors among AA in which Song and Glick (2004) defined SEAA as "Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian or Kampuchean, Thai, or other such origin within Southeast Asia," they found that among 9,202 samples (8,8618 Whites, 176 Chinese, 152 Filipinos, 113 Korean, and 143 Southeast Asian Americans) SEAA men were more likely than men from the other ethnic groups to choose majors with the highest average starting salaries. The researchers believed that SEAA college students had "advantages" in choosing the lucrative college majors because of their language environment at home and their high school math scores (p. 1412). Furthermore, SEAA women were more likely than White women to select majors with higher earning potential. Compared to White women, more SEAA women choose majors in the health profession and business. Song and Glick (2004) believed that SEAA women "benefit" from encountering less discrimination in their career than SEAA men (p. 1417).

Career Performance

Among Asian Americans, SEAA have been less likely to occupy managerial- and professional-related positions (Reeves & Bennett, 2004). Studies showed that this phenomeon is

prevalent in the board rooms of corporations as well as between the walls of the ivory towers of academia. For instance, Zhang et al. (2017) argued that Asian Americans, especially Southeast Asian Americans, are underrepresented among leadership positions in academic medicine (Zhang et al., 2017). Similarly, there were not a career development theory from academia that is specifically for Asian American college students in general or Southeast Asian American in particular.

Chapter Summary

In Chapter 2, I shared the process that I used to search for not only the literature but to also the theoretical framework for this study. I explained why now is the time for examination into the career development of American college students, particularly AA and SEAA college students. In addition, I reviewed the identities and histories of AA and SEAA and drew a connection between the resettlement patterns of SEAA and their educational, economic, and employment attainments. Furthermore, I traced the birth and maturity of the model minority myth as well as its potential effects on the career development of SEAA college students.

Chapter 3: Methodology & Procedures

Introduction

In Chapter 3, I elucidate on the methodology and procedures that I used for answering this study's three research questions:

1. How do SEAA college students perceive the influence (if any) that *parents*, *family* (e.g., siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents), *peers* (e.g., friends, classmates, peers), and *institutional agents* (e.g., college and university administrators, faculty, staff) play in their career development?
2. How do SEAA college students perceive the impact (if any) that *racial stereotypes*, particularly the *model minority myth*, play in their career development?
3. What *meaning* do they attribute to their lived experience as it pertains to their career development?

Toward this aim, I will elaborate on my methods and procedures in the following order: (1) theoretical perspective; (2) epistemology that grounds my study; (3) research method; (4) research methodology; (5) data collection procedures; (6) population, sample, recruitment, and size; (7) data collection instruments; (8) positionality and bias as a researcher; (9) data analysis procedure; (10) data validity, reliability, and trustworthiness. Finally, I will provide a summary of Chapter Three.

Theoretical Perspective

In this section, I present my theoretical perspective, or my philosophical stance that influences my methodology. Toward this end, I first review the underlying principles of phenomenology. Afterwards, I establish the need and explain the use of reflexivity journaling for the purpose of achieving validity, reliability, and trustworthiness of the data and its relation to my theoretical perspective. Thus, I provide the context and rationale for the strategy and procedures for this phenomenological study.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is the philosophy that the lived experience of individuals influences human behaviors; and, therefore, no objective, physical reality exists independently of the subjective experience that individuals perceive through the phenomenon (Cohen, Mannion, & Morrison, 2007). The phenomeon is what individuals experience (van Manen, 2017). Phenomenologists examines a phenomeon, an 'object' of human experience, with aim of extracting the meaning that individuals share in experiencing the phenomenon (e.g., career development) and reveal its essence or nature (Creswell, p. 76).

Two major strands exist in phenomenology: (1) descriptive and (2) interpretive phenomenology (Creswell, 2012; Sloan & Bowe, 2013). Edmund Husserl developed descriptive phenomenology; scholars also referred to it as transcendental phenomenology (Connelly, 2010). Martin Heidegger engineered interpretive phenomenology; scholars also referred to it as hermeneutic phenomenology and existential phenomenology (Creswell, 2013; Langdridge, 2012; Laverty, 2003; Sloan & Bowe, 2013; Spinelli, 2010).

Transcendental. In transcendental, phenomenologists can theoretically transcend the phenomena and meanings in order to study the lived experience of individuals. As a result,

researchers can psychologically adopt a bird's eye view of the essence of the phenomenon and depict it without allow their personal experiences with the phenomenon to become entangled in the investigation and description (Sloan & Bowe, 2013). To avoid entanglement, Husserl introduced the concept of epoche or "bracketing off" (Creswell, 2013, Sloan & Bowe, 2013). Creswell (2013) described bracketing as one "in which investigators set aside their experiences, as much as possible, to take a fresh perspective toward the phenomeon under examination" (p. 80). That is, transcendental phenomenalists believed in the ability to separate (though imperfectly) themselves from the object of observation (Creswell, 2013). This led Sloan and Bowe (2013) to observe, "This meant that there was an objectivisation of the meanings of human experiences" (p. 1294). In other words, a kind of objectivity occurs for the researcher even though phenomenology does not accept a reality that is independent of the subjective reality of individuals who have experience with the phenomenon.

Existential. Existential phenomenologists were also interested in the essence of lived experiences of individuals. However, Heidegger believed that bracketing is impossible. Heidegger argued that researchers cannot separate or detach themselves or render themselves independent from the process of identifying the essence of a phenomenon. Heidegger viewed bracketing as impossible because the process of identifying essence involves the researchers in at least two ways: first, researchers have to apply their language to depict or understand the phenomeon; and second, researchers must ascribe their interpretation of the phenomeon (Langdridge, 2012; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Therefore, existential phenomenologists are mindful that they cannot be honestly neutral even if they psychologically tell themselves otherwise. For them (e.g., Hans-Georg Gadamer, Max van Manen) the 'meaning-making' process that researchers bring to investigating the phenomenon makes bracketing impossible

because the language that they use and the understanding that they bring to bear on discovering the essence are inseparable (Langdridge, 2012; Rapport, 2005; Smith et al., 2009).

In this study, the existential phenomenology is a better fit than transcendental path because of my background (e.g.,1.5-generation SEAA college student, refugee history, traditional Vietnamese family, professional experience with career development), which I elaborated earlier in my discussion regarding positionality and researcher's biases.

As a result of my positionality, I am empathetic with individuals in my research because of my background (Hays & Singh, 2013; Sloan & Bowe, 2013). I do not view this as a hinderance but an enhancement for my study. How is empathy relevant to qualitative research? According to Hays and Singh (2013) empathy, which they define as the "ability to accurately identify the thoughts and feelings of the clients," is critical in qualitative research because "[f]or the qualitative researcher, empathy generates more meaningful and in-depth reflexivity" (p. 139). That is, my closeness to the phenomenon is not a liability but an asset for strengthening my reflexivity. Thus, I am sympathetic to Hays and Singh (2013) when they wrote that it is because of the researcher's "intimate experience of the phenomeon at hand" that my reflexivity "becomes a strategy of accountability, honesty, and trust, which allows her to document her internal processes as researcher and understand her influence on the research process itself" (pp. 139-140). As Heidegger suggested, it is impossible for me to bracket my history with the phenomeon and pretend that I do not have a relationship with it; or that I do not have effects on participants of my study and vice versa; or that I am a detached observer who is objectively depicting my object of research. Instead, I should be transparent and sincere to myself and to the participants about what I bring, consciously or unconsciously, because of my background to the meaning-making and research process and document my biases. Thus, this study warrants a reflexivity

journal in order to assist me in being mindful of my positionality as I engage with the participants and immerse myself in the research process and the data.

Epistemology: Constructionism

While the theoretical perspective considers how my study looks at the participants' lived experiences and data and how they make sense of both, my epistemology provides the "philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate" in my study (Crotty, 2013; Maynard, 1994, p. 10). In short, my epistemology explains is considered as truth, or meaning, in my study, and what it means to know truth. In my study, the epistemology that I invoke is constructionism.

Constructionism, unlike objectivism, rejects the notion that truth—or meaning—as being independent of mind—or consciousness. There is not an objective truth that is lying in wait for the mind to unearth its meaning. Crotty (2013), explains:

Truth, or meaning, comes into existence in and out of our engagement with the realities in our world. There is no meaning without a mind. Meaning is not discovered, but constructed. In this understanding of knowledge, it is clear that different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomeon. (p. 9).

Thus, the SEAA college students in this study may construct the meaning of their lived experience with career development differently from one another. The hope of phenomenology and the purpose of phenomenological interviewing is to help both the participants and the researcher understand the meaning that the participants make as they interact with other human minds in regard to the phenomenon that is career development. The truths or Truths I seek lies in the data from the participants.

Research Method: A Qualitative Study

This study uses a qualitative research approach. Six reasons compelled me to choose a qualitative research method. First, I wish to understand perspectives, not numbers, that illustrate the lived experiences of SEAA college students. While numbers have their value in painting a picture of this population, they are valuable in terms of providing me with insight into how much and how many regarding the experience of a population with a phenomeon. On the other hand, perspectives assist me in ascertaining lived experiences, such as perceptions, feelings, opinions, knowledge, actions, activities, situations, behaviors, and social interactions relating to a population and phenomeon (Roberts, 2010). Thus, I turned toward qualitative research, which does not aim for numbers as an output but for the elements of reality, such as social relations, which cannot be quantified or reduced to operationalized values (Maxwell, 2013).

Second, I am interested in mining for the details, not the surface numerical values, pertaining to how SEAA college student experience the career development phenomeon. Extracting details, not numbers, is a strength of using a qualitative research method. Qualitative studies allow researchers to extract the details of lived experiences and examine them in a compressive manner (Atieno, 2009; Maxwell, 2013; Queirós et al., 2017; Roberts, 2010).

Third, I am aiming to identify the casual relationships embedded in the lived experience of SEAA college students. Contrary to the popular thought, qualitative research is a creditable method for drawing casual relationships (Maxwell, 2013). Thus, the qualitative research method was ideal for my study.

Fourth, I am desiring a holistic comprehension of a phenomeon—the career development of SEAA college students. To holistically and comprehensively study a phenomeon, researchers

must be ready to deploy a wide range of data collection tools. Qualitative research offers me an array of tools, including observations, interviews, documents, and audiovisual materials (Creswell, 2013).

Fifth, I am searching for the meaning that participants attribute to their lived experiences. Understanding the meanings that individuals associate with a phenomenon requires the researcher to be "open to whatever emerges" (Roberts, 2010, p. 143). The array of tools, including semi-structured interviews, affords me with flexibility and openness for recording and understanding the lived experience of participants in the study. A qualitative research approach offers flexibility not only for researchers in terms of what tools they wish to use for collecting the data but also for participants in terms of where they want to take their information.

Finally, SEAA college students and their career development are both understudied topics in higher education research. Qualitative research provide voice to marginalized population that are often neglected by research (Hays & Singh, 2012; Morrow, 2007). As a result, qualitative research method, particularly its phenomenological interviewing tool, is the appropriate approach for my study.

Research Methodology: Phenomenological Interviewing

According to Roberts (2010), the philosophical orientation of qualitative research is phenomenological (Roberts, 2010). Seidman's (2019) recommended a three-interview approach to phenomenological studies. In this study, I used a modified and condensed version of Seidman's (2019) phenomenological approach to interviewing. The following subsections presents an overview of Seidman's (2019) original recommendation as well as my modification.

Seidman's Phenomenological Approach

Seidman (2019) recommended a three-interview series strategy for phenomenological interviewing. For each interview, Seidman called for the length to be 90 minutes each. Between each interview, Seidman argued for interviews to be spaced three days to a week a part. The intent of the spacing is to provide participants with more reflection time in order for them to recall more details.

For the first interviewer, Seidman advised that the interviewer invite participants to examine the phenomenon in relation to their life history—from past to present day. This initial interview provides contextual data relating to the phenomeon. For the second interview, Seidman suggests that the interviewer directs the participants to provide details of the phenomeon in their present life. This interviewer concentrates on extracting the details of the phenomeon as it pertains to the participants. For the third interview, Seidman insisted that the interviewer encourages the participants make reflections on the meaning of the phenomenon. This interview focuses on the meaning of the lived experience of the participants as seen through their lens. Therefore, when the series is viewed as a whole, it provides a comprehensive set of data that represents the lived experiences of participants.

Modification of Seidman's Three-Interview Series

This study attempted to be comprehensive; however, since participants had limited time, energy, and resources, I compressed Seidman's (2019) three-interview series into a two-interview series. In addition, I abbreviated Seidman's recommendation of 270 minutes for a total of three interviews to 180 minutes for a total of two interviews. When possible for the participants, I worked to space the interviews 3 days to a week apart as Seidman suggests for

participants to reflect and incubate rich details. Otherwise, I am at the mercy of participants' hectic schedule.

Furthermore, I merged the Seidman's first interview—exploring the phenomenon in relation to participants' life history to date—and second interview—extracting the details of the phenomeon in participants' present life—into one initial interview. My final of two interviews followed Seidman's guide for the third interview—focusing on the meaning of the lived experience of the participants viewed through the perspective of the participants. Thus, regardless of the study being three- or two-interview series, the interviews collected data on the three critical aspects of Seidman's approach to phenomenological studies: (1) recalling past to present life history, (2) detailing of present lived experience, and (3) reflecting on meaning of lived experience as seen through the worldview of the participants.

Reflexivity Journal

I maintained a reflexive journal throughout the interviews. My reflections on the journal included the following: (1) sensitivity to context, (2) commitment and rigor, (3) transparency and coherence, (4) impact and importance, (5) member checking, (6) positionality and researcher bias mindfulness, (7) areas for improvement as a researcher, and (8) plans for second interviews. To ensure a level of consistency and mindfulness the reflective journal, I created prompts for me to respond to when I journaled. I also included an open prompt for me to reflect on anything that was new or unexpected that I learned about the participant or the process. An example of the template for those prompts is in Appendix F for this study.

By maintaining journal entries that are reflexive of my experiences out in the field as I interview, I improve the validity, reliability and trustworthiness of my existential phenomenological study (Sloan & Bowe, 2013). According to Meyer and Willis (2019),

reflexive journaling can facilitate this process by assisting novice researchers in two ways: (1) it strengthens their mindfulness of their positionality and (2) it improves their research processes.

First, it is important for me mindful of a researcher's positionality, or "one's social position compared to another's," because it affects the researcher's understanding of the data (p. 582). That is, with my position, I bring with me a bag of social values; and, these set of values influence the manner in which I interpret my findings and discoveries. Thus, positionality t can skew my interpretation of the data toward my values. "Without explanation or analyses," Sloan and Bowe (2013) warns, "the means of describing the essence may best be provided by the researcher's personal reflection" (p. 1297). Similarly, Meyer and Willis (2019) explain that the reason that the novice researcher must "improve awareness of researcher postionality" is to "render a more complete understanding of interview data" (p. 578). In short, to mitigate the effects of my positionality, I should employ the use of a reflexive journal in order to improve my mindfulness of my researcher's positionality in order for me to enhance the validity, reliability, and trustworthiness of my study's data.

Second, reflexive journal entries can help improve my research processes I progress from one interview to the next (Meyer & Willis, 2019). For instance, if the manner in which I represent myself, phrase my questions, or deliver my interviews are "inadvertently value-laden" and "erode trust" , I will want to alter my approach in order to extract rich, detailed responses from my participants (Meyer & Willis, 2019, p. 581). Otherwise, my rapport and relationship with my participants will likely yield surface-level answers that do not get at the essence of their lived experiences. But, how do I become aware of the shortcomings of my interview techniques? The answer is reflexive journaling. Through reflexive journal entries that recall my experiences out in the field, I will be able to improve my interviewing effectiveness. Although Meyer and

Willis (2019) do not promote a "generic structure of reflexive journal entries," they do provide a technique for enhancing interviewing effectiveness. They advise by offering a case in point, which they label as "KM":

During data collection, KM typed one to three-page journal entries within one day of each interview. Entries began by describing unexpected, uncomfortable, or otherwise notable field encounters – often through posing multiple "burning" questions – before reflexively exploring possible answers to these questions. KM raised questions such as: *Did I change the way I posed questions to this participant compared to previous interviews? Did the participant appear uneasy?* A reflexive perspective was used to address secondary questions, such as: *Why did I make changes in how I posed questions, and how did this reflect my assumptions about the participant? Did interview questions reflect implicit assumptions about caregiving that were at odds with the participant's experiences?* (p. 580).

Thus, reflexive journaling is not merely a retelling of the researcher's experiences in the field but a purposeful and critical recall of the researcher's experience with each interview. Consequently, as the interviewing techniques improves, the validity, reliability, and trustworthiness of the data improves for my study. I provided a template for my reflexive journal in Appendix F of this study.

Population, Sample, Recruitment, and Size

Population, Sample, & Size

I used purposeful selection to arrive at my participants pool. According to Maxwell (2013), purposeful selection—also known as purposeful sampling—is when "particular settings and individuals are selected deliberately to provide information that is particularly relevant" to the research questions and purpose of the study p. 97). That is, instead of leaving to probability

and randomness to determine the makeup of my sample from the SEAA college student population, I chose participants who were pertinent for addressing my research questions. This is to ensure that the sample is relevant for this study of the phenomenon—the career development of SEAA college students.

The sample in this study were selected because they met all of the following criteria:

- They self-identified as being one or more of the following SEAA ethnicities:
    - Cham, a Muslim minority group
    - Khmer
      Khmer Loeu, or Highland Khmer
    - Hmong
    - Iu Mien or Mien
    - Khmu
    - Lao
    - Taidam
    - Khmer Kampuchea Krom, or ethnic Khmer
    - Montagnards
    - Vietnamese
- They had parents or families who were refugees and who had brought them over to the U.S. either as refugees or sponsored immigrants, or the participants were born in the U.S.
- They were in one of two categories: (1) currently enrolled at least 12 months into an undergraduate program or any amount of time in a graduate program in the State of Texas or (2) recently graduated (no longer than 12 months) from date of graduation from an undergraduate or graduate program in the State of Texas.
- They were not studying on a student visa (e.g., F, J, M) as the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services defines it.

In addition, I aimed to have a diverse mix of academic, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds (e.g., academic major, career aspiration, degree level, first-generation college

student, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status) to give voice to diverse lived experiences. The reader should note that I focused only on participants who are enrolled or had attended an institution in Texas. Narrowing the parameters to Texas allowed me to control for a common experience that may be created as a result of state public policy and political environment. These purposeful characteristics, along with a mindfulness on my research questions, guided me in my recruitment efforts.

Recruitment

To recruit participants, I used a combination of e-mails messages, Facebook, LinkedIn, and Google. These methods were especially important because my University IRB did not allow for face-to-face recruitment during the COVID-19 pandemic, which covered the span of my participant recruitment and interviews phase. When I were not able to reach out to individuals through these avenues, I posted on student organizations, professional associations, and civic organization pages. Initially, I wanted to post flyers in public spaces where mass amounts of people gathered in person; but, because of the global pandemic, I avoided those areas and decided to virtually conduct all of my recruitment efforts. In addition, I had asked participants for referrals or participants had offered referrals to help me connect with my targeted population.

Regardless of the method, I provided participants information about myself, purpose of my study, and instructions on how to participate. My goal was to recruit a significant number of prospective participants in order to achieve a meaningful sample size. I reached out to at least 140 individuals and 15 organizations through e-mails, Facebook pages, or LinkedIn connections.

Examples of my recruitment messages are in Appendix A of this document.

Size

Creswell (2013) reports that sample for phenomenological studies may be as few as 1 and as many as 325 individuals (p. 157). Creswell (2013) recommends sample sizes to be a few as "3 to 4 individuals" and as many as "10 to 15" (p. 78). Hays and Singh (2013) concur with Creswell and believe that 10 should "adequately represent the phenomenon of inquiry" (p. 173). I attempted a sample size of least 20 participants. A sample size of 20 would be large enough to represent the phenomenon and small to allow the study to depict the participant's experience with depth, which is one of the critical reasons for why I chose a qualitative research method for my study. Thus, I anticipate that the data that I collect will be valuable for its details.

In addition to achieving a 20-sample size, my goal was to secure at least five participants who each self-identified as being Cambodian Americans, Hmong Americans, Laotian Americans, or Vietnamese Americans. Among these ethnicities, Hmong Americans were the most difficult to recruit because of the size of their population in Texas. To illustrate my point, Figure 3.10 shows the SEAA population by ethnicity (SEARAC, 2021):

Figure 3.10

SEAA Ethnicities in Texas

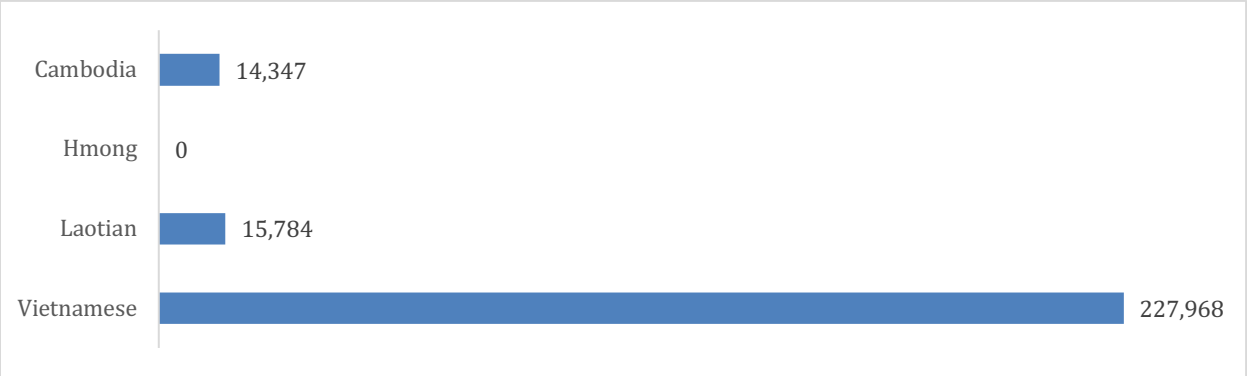


Figure 3.10 is 2010 U.S. Census data for Texas. In 2013, there were only 920 individuals who self-identified as Hmong Americans in Texas (U.S. Census, 2013).

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection procedures for my two-series interviews consisted of three sequential phases: (1) pre-interview, (2) interview, and (3) post-interview. The following subsections will provide more information on the phases.

Pre-Interview

Prior to the first interview, I asked participants to complete a pre-interview questionnaire in order to ensure that I have selected participants who meet the parameters for the study and that I would not use up a substantial amount of time during first interview collecting demographic data. A copy of the online questionnaire is in Appendix C of this study. I had a total of 43 individuals completed the pre-interview questionnaire. And, the demographic statistics on the group that completed the questionnaire is in Appendix D of this study.

I used the questionnaire to both pre-screen participants and create additional questions that were specific for each participant as I was planning for their first interview.

Interview

All interviews were conducted online because my University IRB did not permit me to conduct in-person interviews due to the global pandemic. During the interviews, the format were semi-structured. That is, I initiated the opening question and present prepared as well as unprepared, follow-up questions. A copy of the interview schedule is the Appendix E of this study. As long as the participants were on topic and within the scope for each interview, I allowed the participants take the lead in sharing their lived experiences with the phenomeon. My hope was that each participant would be able to provide not only their own words on how they experienced the phenomenon but also on what their lived experiences meant to them.

I completed a total of 57 interviews, which means that I interviewed 29 individuals, and all but 1 completed the 2-interview circuit. The reason that I interviewed 29 individuals although my goal was 20 individuals was because I did not know which participants were going to complete both interviews because of their availability. Consequently, while a participant may start before another participant, the earlier participant may complete their second interview later than the later participant. As a result, while I had planned for 3,600 minutes of interviewing because I had allocated two 90-minute interviews for each participant, I conducted 5,130 minutes of interviewing instead.

Post-Interview

After the interviews, I provided participants with transcripts from the interviews for member checking and asked participants how well my data analyses represented their experiences. The transcriptions was not a summary of their recording but a verbatim recording of the interview in order to be faithful to the participants' words. As a result, the transcripts contained repetitious verbal fillers and idiosyncrasies such as *uhms*, *ahs*, *you knows* that were collected by the instruments that I used during the interviews.

Data Collection Instruments

The data collection instruments that I used to conduct the study was divided into two types: (1) electronic applications and (2) manual tools. The electronic applications included e-mails, online and smartphone applications, and Zoom devices. The manual tools included paper, pen, highlighters, and me—the human as the research instrument. The following is a brief of description of them and how I applied them in my study.

Electronic Apps

I deployed multiple electronic applications to support this study. To recruit participants over e-mail, I used either Microsoft's Outlook or Gmail's mail.com. To conduct the prescreening questionnaire and store its content, I used Qualtrics, a secure, online tool for surveying. For interviews, I used Zoom, a web-based software, to interview and record the video and audio of the interview for transcription. Since Zoom had a built-in transcription feature, I used that feature to do the initial transcription and then used the video and audio recordings to ensure that Zoom accurately captured participants' words. Finally, I employed Atlas.ti (qualitative data analysis software), Microsoft Word ,and Excel to aid me in recording my notes and analyzing the transcripts.

Manual Tools

Manual tools were predominantly in use during the data analysis and data interpretation part of my study. During this time, I immersed myself in the video, audio, and text. For the immersion, listened to the video and audio and matched the transcript with the video/audio. After the initial transcription, I read through the passages and marked the ones that I found interesting or compelling and placed an initial theme title above each. I did this with the purpose of slowing down the transcript review process so that I can become immerse in the text. In the words of Seidman (2019), such an approach toward the handling phenomenological interviews materials will help with "working with and internalizing the interviewing materials" because the manner in I consumed the data in hand is different from the way that I respond to it on a computer screen (p. 126). That is, in order to truly immerse myself in the data, I must come to it from multiple media, not just through the electronic (e.g., applications, software, computer screens) channels. The dual approach of using electronic applications and manual tools recognized the role of the

researcher as not only as a data collection instrument but also as a data analysis and data interpretation instrument throughout the research process.

Data Analysis

Seidman (2019) insisted that researchers should partition the interviewing process from the data analysis process. Researchers should value this separation in order to "avoid imposing meaning from one participant's interviews on the next" (Seidman, 2019, p. 122). That is, the researcher should not allow the data among the interviews to cross contaminate each other by carrying and imposing an idea from one interview into and onto the next. Furthermore, since the process of punctuating the transcript is a signifier of the start of the data analysis process, I waited for the interviewing process to end before I begin the data analysis process. Consequently, I did not start the data analysis until I had completed all of my interviews.

In the data analysis process, I implemented three stages: (1) coding, (2) organizing, and (3) sifting (Seidman, 2019). I used Atlas.ti to aid me. First, in the coding stage, I re-read and used the Atlas.ti function to mark passages by creating codes. The codes were short-hands in describing the passage. These codes were not hard- but soft-coded; that is, they were tentative and flexible categories. This meant that these labels may be combined or grouped into new labels or they may be discarded when their role revels to be insignificant after the coding stage. A passage may be associated with multiple codes or code groups. Second, in the organizing stage, I created a notation system in order to associate the labeled passage with their location on the transcript. The notation system allowed me to relocate a passage in context of the transcript even after I cut it out and organize it with other passages. In Atlas.ti, this was the "Quotations" function of the program. Third, in the sifting stage, I reread all of the coded passages and sort the passages that were most compelling from the ones that are less interesting. A full list of codes

and their operational definition is in Appendix G. Seidman (2019) suggested that the less compelling and less interesting passages are the ones that do not have connections to other passages. This is the meaning-making part of the data analysis process, and it leans heavily on the judgement of the researcher even though the data originate from the participants . Seidman (2019) explained:

> The interviewers can later check with the participants to see if what they have marked as being of interest and import seems that way to the participants. Although member-checking can inform a researcher's judgment, it cannot substitute for it. That judgment depends on the researcher's experience, both in the past in general and in working with the internalizing the interviewing material; it may be the most important ingredient the researcher brings to the study (Marshall, 1981). (p.126)

Once more, I, the researcher, cannot pretend that I and the data are independent, even if the researcher aspires to be an "objective observer." The object—the data—does not exist independently of me—the observer or researcher. Thus, the sifting phase was the meaning-making phase of the data analysis, and there is no meaning in the data without the observer. Consequently, what was made as a result of this sifting phase was a product between the participants' voices and my mind. Since this stage leaned on the judgement of the researcher, Seidman (2019) advised that the researcher does read the interview data and force the data into preconceived categories. Instead, I let the interview data guide the creation of categories and influence, though not control, my analysis of the data. Seidman made such recommendation to ensure the validity, reliability, and trustworthiness of data originating from phenomenological interviewing during qualitative research.

Validity, Reliability, & Trustworthiness

Smith, Larkin, and Flowers (2009) provided four principles assessing the quality of validity and reliability for phenomenological studies: (1) sensitivity to context, (2) commitment

and rigor, (3) transparency and coherence, and (4) impact and importance. To these four, I added three more: (5) member checking, (6) positionality and researcher bias mindfulness, and (7) reflexivity journal (Creswell, 2013; Hays & Singh, 2012; Maxwell, 2013).

Sensitivity to Context

This principle referred to the researcher's ability to be in tune with the situation in which the researcher conducts the study, the review of the literature, and the data from participants. Smith et al. (2009) recommended that the researcher's "awareness of the interview process—showing empathy, putting the participant at ease, recognizing interactional difficulties, and negotiating the intricate powerplay where research expert may meet experiential expert" as indicators of sensitivity to the context (p. 180). Since the researchers depend on the participants to share their personal life story, researchers' ability to build a rapport with the participants and put them at ease will affect the quality of data from the participants.

Commitment & Rigor

Commitment refers to the level of attention that the researcher pays to the data during the collection and analysis process. Signs of this include the how comfortable the participant is during the interview and how closely the researcher attends to what the participants share. Rigor points to quality in which the researcher conducts the interview and the comprehensiveness of the analysis. Signs of rigor include the closeness in which the responses from the participants address the research questions. Furthermore, there must be depth in the analysis. The analysis must be beyond mere description of themes; instead, it must be interpretative, providing interesting and compelling details and meaning to the themes.

Transparency & Coherence

Transparency refers to the level of clarity that the researcher describes the research process. The researcher would clearly spell out the research steps (e.g. participant recruitment and selection; interview schedule construction; data collection and analysis). This means that other researchers can reproduce the study when they follow these steps. Smith et al. (2009) wrote that "one way of checking the validly of one's research report is to file all the data in such a way that somebody could follow the chain of evidence that leads from initial documentation through the final report" (p. 182). Thus, if an independent audit can reproduce the product by following the research process, this is a sign of validity.

Coherence pertains to the whether the analysis is coherent. According to Smith et al. (2009), contradictions may exist in the data, but there should not be contradictions in the data analysis. Thus, the arguments that the analysis make must be coherent in order to deem the study valid.

Impact & Importance

Smith et al. (2009) argued that "however well a piece of research is conducted, a test of its real validly lies in whether it tells the reader something interesting, important or useful" (p. 183). Thus, one end result of the study is the enlightenment of the readers in their understanding of the participants and the phenomeon. Consequently, the researcher brings to light data that is interesting as well as compelling.

Member Checking, Researcher Bias Mindfulness, & Journaling Reflexively

In addition to the four criteria that Smith et al. (2009) advocated that I included three additional components: (1) member checking, (2) reflexive journaling, and (3) researcher bias

sharing as validity, reliability, and trustworthiness techniques in qualitative studies (Hays & Singh, 2012; Maxwell, 2013).

I implemented member checking during and after the interviews. During the interviews, I asked follow-up for clarifications, probing into participants' responses. After the interviews, I offered opportunities to review the interview transcripts to confirm that the transcripts authentically represent the participant's responses. And, I provided them with the opportunity to provide input to their transcript. The point of member-checking is to be mindful of when my biases as a researcher is present in the research process—from interviewing, to data analysis, and to data interpretation.

Positionality & Bias of Researcher

Throughout the research process, the worldview and bias of the researcher is a real and critical part of the research design, implementation, and interpretation. After all, the researcher is the human tool behind the study. Specifically, the researcher's background, thoughts, feelings, reactions, are all a part of the process of designing, conducting, analyzing, and interpreting the research. A researcher may check with the participants on the significant of passages on a transcript in order to balance their biases with the worldview of the participants; however, the decision on judging what is significant in the text, how to code it, and what meaning to make of it ultimately rests on the researcher. That is, at some point, the participants'' role of sharing is done and the researcher's role of making determination has to begin (Seidman, 2019). As a result, the researcher has a role and a location within the research, and the researcher's positionality biases each step of the process. Thus, to honor the ideals of trustworthiness in qualitative research, I must be transparent about my positionality (Creswell, 2013; Maxwell, 2009; Hays & Singh, 2012). To deny my positionality is to be disingenuous to myself, my

participants, and those who consume my study and to pretend that I conduct my study as one that is removed from the world that my study exists. Therefore, the following paragraphs in this section is an attempt to be truthful about my biases as a researcher.

To begin, I identify myself as a Southeast Asian American college (graduate) student (male) whose parents are refugees from Vietnam. My family was part of the "boat people" exodus out of Vietnam in the early 1980s. Until 7 years old, I lived in refugee camps in Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, and the Philippines. After arriving in the United States, we resettled in the government housing projects of Washington D.C. and then resettled in a rural fishing town in San Leon, Texas. As a result, I also identify myself as 1.5-generation Vietnamese American (Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Through this experience, I developed a deep empathy toward children of refugees and their parents who escaped from political prosecution and violence, leaving behind their siblings, parents, and livelihood in order to protect the lives of their immediate family members. In addition, I have a genuine respect for the dignity of work, regardless of its form. I feel a particularly a strong emotional and spiritual connection for those who work in manual labor jobs. At refugee camp, my father was a sanitation worker and my mother sold baked goods at the camp markets to feed a family of six. When we lived in Washington D.C., he worked in a Kodak factory, and my parents cleaned houses and hotels. When we came to Texas, my parents worked in the fishery industry (e.g., crab fishing, shrimping, and seafood processing factories). I first worked with my father in the third grade on his crab boat. By the fourth grade, my weekends, nights, and summers were spent in the seafood factories and on the shrimp boats. I did this until I graduated from my undergraduate. All of the funds that I earned from the labor went into helping my parents pay the bills.

Presently, I am employed as administrator at a public research university, where my portfolio includes administering academic and career development programs and teaching a career planning and professional development course. I believe that career development is a critical component in the academic, professional, and personal development of students and that higher education researchers and practioners often overlook its importance in helping students succeed in college and in life. This experience has led me to look for ways to integrate academic, student life, mental health, and career development programs into a holistic strategy for supporting the development of students, particularly the understudied, underrepresented, and marginalized individuals. Thus, social cognitive career theory (SCCT), with its promising record on working with such populations, interests me; and, I have incorporated it in this study. SCCT promises to connect academic interest, choice, and performance with career interest, choice, and performance while recognizing the import role of context in human learning and development.

Throughout my academic, professional, and personal life, I have had to respond to questions from friends, acquaintances, and strangers on why I am not studying to be medical doctor, an engineer, a pharmacist, or something "sciencey". As early as sixth grade, I recognized that many of my teachers and classmates assumed that I would be "good in math" simply because I am a "Nguyen." I quickly disappointed those teachers and busted the bubbles of my peers when I gravitated toward history, literature, and philosophy. During my undergraduate years, my peers in the Vietnamese Students Association choose pre-medical, engineering, and computer science majors while I passionately pursued philosophy, leading them (and my younger siblings) to tell me that I would be homeless and living on the street that borders the college campus and that I would have not "Street Cred" in society. Not until my graduate studies

did I realize that those encounters were reflections of the ugly faces that make up the smoke and mirrors of the model minority myth.

While many of my peers' parents pressured them to pursue academic majors and careers that they considered were lucrative and prestigious, my parents' instruction when I left for college was simple: "Do Good!" Their main interest was that I pursue higher education in order to serve my family, community, and society in an "honorable" manner. Ever since middle school, their instructions to me were very simple: (1) "Don't join a gang!," (2) "Don't get anyone pregnant!," and (3) "Don't go to jail!" If I could fulfill that trinity, they predicted that I would be fine, and perhaps go to college.

When I arrived at college, I had no idea what to do or where to start. Since my parents had no more than an elementary school education in Vietnam and I was the first in my family to attend college, they had no experience of higher education in the U.S. I was on my own to figure out how to implement their wishes in the face of peer and societal pressures to pursue a science, technology, engineer, and math (STEM) field. Thus, the questions of "What do I want to be?," "What am I supposed to be when I grow up?," and "How do I get there?" were constantly and intimately entwined with "Who am I?," "Why am I?," and "What is the meaning of occupation and career as it relates to the meaning of life?" questions.

In light of my experiences with career development, it was critical for me to reflect on my thoughts and feelings pertaining to the career development of Southeast Asian American college students in order to ensure the trustworthiness of this qualitive study. I had to be mindful of the sentiments and scars that I may project onto the research process, including the design of the study; the implementation (including interaction with participants) of the research process; and the analysis and interpretation of the data from my study. That is, I had to be reflective to be

mindful of where my worldview ends and where the data and interpretation from the participants begin.

Chapter Summary

In Chapter Three, I elaborated on my methods and procedures by presenting the following information: (1) research method; (2) research methodology; (3) data collection procedures; (4) population, sample, recruitment, and size; (5) data collection instruments; (6) positionality and bias as a researcher; (7) data analysis procedure; (8) data validity, reliability, and trustworthiness, (9) theoretical perspective; and (10) epistemology pertaining to my study.

Chapter 4: Participant Vignettes—In Their Own Words

For Chapter 4, I crafted two vignettes for each ethnicity using the words of the participants. I selected these eight among the 20 participants not because they essentialized an ethnicity or were representatives of all participants, but because they provided a diversity of identities and lived experiences. To explain the importance and relevancy of vignettes in qualitative research, Seidman (2019) wrote:

> A profile in the words of the participant is the research product that I think is the most consistence with the process of interviewing. It allows us to present participants in context, to clarify their intentions, and to convey a sense of process and time, all central components of qualitative analysis. We interview in order to come to know the experience so the participant through their stories. We learn from hearing and studying what the participants say. Although the interviewer can never be absent from the process, by crafting a profile in the participant's own words, the interviewer allows those words to reflect the person's consciousness. (p. 128)

Thus, the vignettes were not simply a dumping of the data onto pages but the telling of the stories of their lived experience as it pertained to their career development.

In creating the vignettes, I focused on the parts of the transcript that was related to the three interlocking models of Social Cognitive Career Theory: (1) career interest development, (2) career choice, and (3) career performance. And, unless I could not retain the cohesion, coherence, clarity, context, and meaning of the participant's words, I preserved the order in which each participant delivered their words. Also, I removed certain characteristics that were indictive of oral speech, such as "uhms," "ahs," "you knows," that do not do justice to the eloquence of the speaker. Consequently, each vignette was not a mirror image of the length of each participant's transcript but a profile from participants' words.

In presenting the vignettes, I refrained from conducting a deep analysis of the words of the participants to let the data speak for the speaker. However, I provided context before each vignette to orient readers:

Appa:

"Part of me wonders whether it was because my teaching assistant and my professor were both Chinese that made me didn't want to further amplify the sort of negative connotations against Southeast Asians."

I developed a vignette for Appa to showcase the career development of a SEAA second-generation Cambodian, Cham, and Khmer American female college student who had a stronger identification with being SEAA than with being AA. Her identity as SEAA had impacted her career interest and choice.

Career Interest

Appa described how she became interested in a career in medicine because her parents had introduced her to Cambodia early in her life:

> When I was in high school, while some of my friends would be going to really nice places or beaches for vacation, my parents would take me during winter breaks to go see the family in Cambodia.

They continued to involve her during college:

> Then, in college, we would go back to Cambodia every summer. By college, I was a lot more aware of the healthcare system because I had a growing interest in healthcare and medicine. It was really disappointing in a way to see how lacking and how broken the healthcare system was in Cambodia. I would keep hearing more and more stories about people who get sick with something that would be relatively simple to treat but then aren't being treated properly or doctors had no idea on what was going on with them.

It was important to her that others knew that she decided to enter the medical doctor profession because of her interest and free will and not because of some force that was external to herself.

She wanted others to know that she decided on her profession based upon her lived experiences, especially her experience with Cambodia:

> So, my eyes just completely opened to all the problems facing their healthcare system. This had a huge effect on my motivation towards medicine.

Career Choice

She made an effort to explain to me that she did not pursue a career as a medical doctor because she identified as a SEAA but because of her lived experience as a SEAA, particularly because she was a child a father who was a refugee from Cambodia. This nuance was important to her because she felt that people should not dismiss her personal agency in her career development. For her, it was by coincident that she had chosen a professional that fitted Asian stereotypes and was in consonance with the expectations of her parents, family, community, and society:

> I don't want to sound cliché and be, "I want to be a doctor because my dad was a doctor," but a really large influence on me wanting to go for a career in medicine was because I saw the path that he took to get there, and I was inspired by the motivation that he had.

She elucidated that it was not only because she saw her dad earned his medical degree but because she saw how he helped others by using his degree that motivated her:

> He was always striving to help others. My father's career obviously lit a flame that embodies my passion towards medicine. I find his path as definitely motivating, especially because I know that the resources that I do have are direct results of him. It makes me want to make sure that he didn't go through all that work for nothing.

Career Performance

She felt that the model minority myth had impeded her career performance throughout college:

> The model minority myth makes me feel like I'm expected to be successful. I'm expected to be well off when I'm older. With the model minority myth, Asians are expected to be smart; expected to not struggle; expected to figure things out on our own without having to ask people for help. And, I think because of that, in a way, it's made me self-conscious. And that does have a negative influence on me.

She felt that the MMM was a mental and emotional barrier to her performance as an undergraduate student:

> In fact, there has been times where I could have had a better result if I had asked people for help and if I had let my guard down and allowed people to see how I too struggled. When I am struggling, sometimes I get a little too scared to ask people for help because I feel like I'm supposed to have myself together.

She found the feeling of being an imposter or un-Asian to impact her performance in STEM courses:

> For example, when I took that calculus class, I went at least the first half without asking anyone for help. The model minority myth stereotypes that Asians are really smart and really hard working, and I was self-conscious because I didn't want the teaching assistants to think that my not understanding the concepts meant that I was lazy.

The fear of being seen as not congruent with the model minority created a high level of anxiety for her:

> I was so focused on making sure they knew that I wasn't lazy, which goes completely against what we're 'supposed' to represent. We're 'supposed' to be hard working; we're supposed to get things and understand things on our own—without needing help. We're supposed to come off as a certain way, and I did not want people to say, "Wow, she's Asian, she supposed to like be really smart. I'm surprised that she's struggling" or "Wow, she didn't even finish her homework yet. She must be really lazy."

The MMM became a hinderance to her learning:

> I felt self-conscious that I was going to exude qualities that we're not supposed to exude. That's the kind of things that feeds into my self-consciousness with asking for help. I don't want people to think that I don't have my myself together, which is something that I think we're expected to do because of that myth.

She felt this racial stereotype threatened her career development not because she identified with being AA but that she identified as being SEAA. She saw that the threat this racial stereotype carried with it was not contained with the border of the U.S. but that it permeated across national borders, including East Asian and Southeast Asian countries.

> And, I think being Southeast Asian also had an effect on the amount of self-consciousness because my calculus professor and teaching assistant were both Asians. There is a very existing prejudice amongst Asians specifically targeted towards Southeast Asians. This was something that I experienced when I was living in Korea.

The MMM made her not only intellectually but physically conscious:

> A lot of people looked down on Southeast Asians. For example, a lot of Southeast Asians in Korea were low-income workers. They had come to Korea to work either as maids or even sometimes as sex workers. So, a lot of Southeast Asians were just looked down upon by Koreans for a multitude of reasons. I remember a very specific moment where some Koreans were being judgmental towards me until they heard me spoke fluent English with an American accent.

For Appa, the MMM was not just a U.S. but a global phenomeon:

> Then, suddenly they were intrigued with me right because I had set myself apart from the rest of the Southeast Asians that they had had in their heads.

SEAA experienced the MMM in a way that was unique from East Asians in the U.S. Her experience with the Asian community was that whatever positive expectations that the MMM implied, it was not understood to apply to her. On the contrary, it was a stereotype that threatened her sense of self, well-being, and intellect:

> So, I feel that Southeast Asians have a lot of struggles that East Asians might not have. Part of me wonders whether the fact that my teaching assistant and my professor were both Chinese made me didn't want to further amplify the sort of negative connotations against Southeast Asians. I didn't want them to tie the fact that I was doing poorly in this

> class with the fact that I'm Southeast Asian. I didn't want them to think that I was less capable because I was Southeast Asian.

She saw the threat of the MMM to be explicit in the U.S.:

> In America, people use stereotypes to people associate with different types of Asians. People link of Vietnamese people with nail shops. When they think of Cambodian people, they think of donut shops. And that's very different from what they think about Korean people; they think of like K-Pop models. When they think of Chinese, they think of doctors and professors. Those are very different stereotypes—very different levels of what they expect or what they associate with specific Asian ethnicities.

She felt that even within Southeast Asian countries, the stereotype threat against Southeast

Asians persisted:

> Even when you go to Cambodia, how people see you depends a lot on how you look. So, if you look more Chinese, they think you're beautiful. They think you're really wealthy. They think you're going to be really successful. Whereas, if you're darker like me and your nose is like flatter like mine, they think, "Oh, she's just going be a farmer, or something like that". So, I think this level of distinction and prejudice against a certain type of Southeast Asian, or just Southeast Asians in general, transfers from Asia to here. It might be something that we keep encouraging too.

She found the MMM to be demeaning and dehumanizing:

> For instance, when I met up with one of my Malaysian, she told me she read this article about where they described Southeast Asians as "Jungle Asians". Jungle Asians—what a horrible term to use like. That's awful! Sometimes, I wonder if it makes me feel more sensitive to wanting to fulfill these Asian stereotypes because I want to prove them wrong, because I want to be, "I am Asian. I am that".

Amber:

"I definitely think it's going to make a difference if I am seen as a 'Chinese doctor' versus a 'Cambodia doctor' because people from Cambodia are stereotyped as not being as educated."

I included a vignette for Amber to display the lived experience of a student who self-identified as a Cambodian American and Chinese American female but who was raised to reject her SEAA identity.

Career Interest

Amber referred to her upbringing as growing up "in an Asian household," meaning that "my mom really pushed me into the route of the medical field." She continued by stating, "My mom was really the 'tiger mom'", which she described as someone who did "what's best for you in the future, not in the now" and "push you in the present to make sure that you will do well in the future, and there is very lack of empathy." She elaborated on her upbringing:

> In my household, it was nothing to talk about your dreams. All that my mother wants to hear is that you're doing good. You're going to go to med school, your grades are amazing, and that's it. For the most part of my life, that's all it was about. It's very hard to tell your parents, "I don't want to do a career that's going to make me a lot of money. I don't have to worry about a future. I want to drop all of it and go into a career that I could possibly be living on the streets later in life."

She felt a sense of obligation to pursue the medical doctor route:

> It's hard when you have parents that come from overseas to make it here. With her, it was kind of a one sided-conversation: "You need to go to a good school, get good grades, and then you'll go to medical school. For there, you can make a lot money." And that was all that would said.

Career Choice

Since there could only be one career interest for Amber, she had only one choice. However, she reiterated that she eventually arrived at that choice on her own accord:

> So, my parents pushed me into going to medicine and all that, but that's where it ends. Now, the second part is just me wanting to help others, specifically kids.

Career Performance

Her father was Cambodian. Her mother was Chinese. Both immigrated from Cambodia. But, her mother and her cousins, had encouraged her to part from her identification with her Cambodian heritage because they felt that embracing her Cambodian American identity would be disadvantageous for her career:

> In a way, it's just easier to identify as Chinese because I guess the Chinese have, you know, they are a bit more superior in the Asian race. My mom and our family just identify as Chinese because you'll probably get further if someone knows your Chinese than if they know that there's Cambodian blood in you. It's like "rich Asian" and "Jungle Asian". That separation is because being Chinese is better than being Chinese and Cambodian. It's better just to say that you're Chinese.

Since the Chinese population was more numerous than the Cambodian population, her family felt that it was more advantageous for her to identify as only Chinese. In addition to career development, there was social-cultural consequences :

> My mom and dad agreed to let us grow up in a Chinese culture because it was easier for us to fit in. When I say "fitting in," I mean fitting with the Chinese. Saying "We're Cambodian" doesn't help because there's not that many out there. But, saying, "We're Chinese. There's like a bunch Chinese out there, everywhere. It's easier to communicate with them and to be able to talk to them about certain things, then talking to someone about Cambodia because we have not met a lot of Cambodians out there.
>
> So, being able to connect with the Chinese and build more connections with them was one thing benefit that my mom really wanted to for us. There's a lot of Chinese—a lot of us—and they're more superior to Cambodia.

They felt that identifying as Cambodian did not help her expand her career network.

> When I say “connections,” I mean “networking kind of connections—being able to know someone that's Chinese, such as, “A Chinese who works at a hospital so “maybe you could do rotations with them.” You are really- good-friends-with-them kind of connections. And being able to build like this friendship with them. One thing she tried to have us do was make Asian friends with Chinese people. So, when choosing between two networks and connections, there is a ‘superior side’—Chinese. An easy way to understand this is that there's a ton of Chinese people everywhere. And they always have very good jobs—like being a doctor. Or, they have the connections to help you build your connections because they've worked at a certain company for a while. So, they have that connection with the boss or higher-ups to get you where you want to be.

She vacillated between owning and disowning her Cambodian heritage. During her interviews, sometime she used “we” and “us” to refer to herself as being Cambodian American; other times, she used these pronouns to herself as only Chinese:

> Since there's just a bunch of us. There's a lot of connections that you can build from there to get where you want to go. From what I've learned from jobs and working, it is about networking and knowing people that work in companies, hospitals, or law firms.

Ultimately, she and her family felt that that her identification with being Cambodian American would have negative repercussions for her career performance:

> So, I definitely think it's going to make a difference if I am seen as a “Chinese doctor” versus a “Cambodia doctor” because people from Cambodia are stereotyped as not being as educated. This is because they are from a country that doesn't have a great education system. If I am a Cambodian doctor, people would be, “ She's probably just a dumb Cambodian doctor who doesn’t know what she is doing”. That’s something that's a stereotype.

Dr Pepper:

"I needed to pull myself out of the community and reflect on myself and my own identity."

I constructed a vignette for Pepper to share a story of a participant who self-identified as a first-generation Hmong female college student and who saw education as an escape from her traditional Hmong family and community.

Career Interest

When she entered college, she selected the medical doctor career path in order to appease her parents and to increase the reputation of her family.

> My parents want me to be somebody, do something, which means that they want me to bring face and money to the family. They want the reputation, which includes me making them feeling proud and good and being able to go back home to support them. When I was an undergraduate, they wanted me to do something in the medical field. I thought about doing it. I tried it.

But, she had no interest in the medical field.

> But, I kept falling asleep in classes. I couldn't stay awake in chemistry or biology. So, I dropped that within the first week of my first semester.

Instead, she had interest in fine arts and non-STEM careers:

> Afterwards, I wanted to be an art major and do fashion design. But, the Internet and social media were not as popular at that time, and I was worried that I couldn't promote my art. So, I decided to major in communication because I thought that it was a broad degree and that I would go to graduate school for a master's degree in it.

Against her parent's wishes, she decided to not return home after receiving her undergraduate degree:

> But, after graduation, I got accepted into the Fulbright Scholar Program. I taught English abroad in Thailand for a year. And, I traveled around the world. My six younger siblings loved it! But, my parents didn't.

To fund her independence from her family, she secured scholarships to help her travel and earn degrees for careers:

> I tunneled myself out of asking for their opinion, approval, or permission because I didn't ask for any of their money. I secured full funding to study abroad twice because I knew that there was no way that they were going to support me. Instead, they probably were going to bad mouth me. Since I already knew that they would ahead of time, I made sure that whatever I did it won't come back and make me feel hurt.

Career Choice

She studied and taught abroad, and then she moved from Minnesota to Texas to be in graduate program in library science. Although she chose her current field of study in library science, her career choice centered around the requirements of her full-ride scholarship being one from a STEM field. A combination of education and scholarships have been her ticket for career decision-making freedom. It also afforded her the opportunity to move to travel abroad as well as move Texas to put distance between herself and her parents, family, and ethnic community and to pursue the lifestyle that she desired, which was dissonant with collectivistic family and a communal society:

> I knew that education was my own way out from my culture if I wanted to have the lifestyle that I wanted. Education was an outlet for me because I know that it's going to be hard to change this culture, which has its own foundations and ways of living. It's slowly changing, but it's not getting there anytime soon. If I focus on education, yes, it's going to take more time; but, at least I could make my own choices and have more opportunities for myself and be able to change my own life style.

She wanted to distance herself from a collective culture at home and communal expectation in her ethnic community. She wanted to live a life that was different from what her family and community prescribed to Hmong women in her community:

> Here is what I mean by "life style." I'm born in one community. It's a very collectivist upbringing; and, then I feel like I want to go away from that and be more individualistic. But, at the same time, I don't want to be fully individualistic. Instead, I want to have it in

> the middle because I know that my family is also very important. But, at the same time, I still need to find my own identity and find the lifestyle that I want for me and that works for me and not have to do too much with my family or my extended family.

Ideally, she wanted to be able to find a middle ground that afforded her the means to express her individuality as well as to embrace her family and community:

> I am looking for balance—a balance of both. And, I'm not there yet. I'm still working on it. I'm going towards it. I don't know the future. But for now, my lifestyle is pretty individualistic, and that's where I'm at this phase in my life and my career.

However, she did not find that the middle path was available for her in her lifetime:

> I would admit that it was a too much for me. It was a lot of expectation to pressure myself to be the traditional way. So, I removed myself away from the community in order to focus on what I want to do. The physical distance that I placed myself allows me to have the freedom to do and to explore and to create and to gain that sense of independence that was not readily encouraged or available for me.

Career Performance

For as much as Dr. Pepper wanted to distance herself from her family and ethnic community, she did not find them to affect her career performance. Instead, she felt that the MMM did impact it. Specifically, it created performance anxiety for her:

> The downside of the model minority myth is that there's a lot of expectations there that cause things to be draining and nerve wracking. For example, I just found out yesterday that two weeks from now I'm supposed to do a Zoom meeting with 20 plus students to teach about these concepts that I don't even know. I'm supposed to do this meeting and be the teaching assistant for them. That's what they have me do. There is lot of pressure.

She also felt that the MMM discredited individuality, particularly her personal agency. That is, the MMM did not recognize the hard work that she committed in order to perform well in her field of study. Such hard work included having to overcome the performance anxiety that came from others expecting her to perform well under time pressures:

> People think I'm smart just because I am Asian, but I tell them, "I just work hard. I try to understand the structure or the system and then I go from there. I am not intelligent." So, this situation puts a lot of pressure on me. I know how others see me: the fact that I'm in library science, which means that I'm always at the freaking library, it looks like I study a lot and I'm smart! It is just that I love the environment there—the library. The pressure of like trying to pick things up fast—it's something that I still struggle with.

Chaco

"To understand my career development, it is important to understand the history of why I am here and the history of the Vietnam War."

I included Chaco's vignette to illustrate the lived experience of a participant who self-identified as a first-generation Hmong and Laotian American male college student entering the U.S. military as an officer.

Career Interest

The root of Chaco's interest in the military came from his uncle who retired from the U.S. Army:

> An important person in my career development is my uncle. In the 80s, he joined the U.S. Army. He is retired now. And, he's said, "If you join, the U.S. government will give you all of these benefits." He advocated that I go in as an officer to do health promotion. So, I looked into the Army ROTC program at my local university, and I am going into the military as an officer. My uncle worked in a hospital in California. I think he was a health administrator.

His uncle and his grandfather encouraged him because of the financial benefit of the military:

> Another person who has been an important factor in my career development is my paternal grandfather. He said the same thing that my uncle was saying, "Do it for the benefits. It is easier to make the transition between civilian and military life if you have experience already."

His interest also steamed from his grandfather's military career in the Royal Lao Army, which was collapsed in 1975:

> He was an artillery officer who fought in the Vietnam War for the Royal Lao Army. He served on the mountains on the border between Laos and Vietnam. He was on the Laos side, managing a couple of artillery guns, shooting artillery, and defending (with the South Vietnamese) against the North Vietnamese. He has been showing me his old war photos and telling me how he fought in the Vietnam War. He was a captain and was almost got promoted toward major, but the war ended, and the Royal government, the monarchy, was dissolved.

Chaco viewed his interest in being a military officer as an extension of his family's journey to the U.S. His father, uncle, and grandfather arrived in the U.S. as refugees of the Vietnam War:

> Also, when I was in high school, I watched a video on YouTube about a Vietnamese Navy Captain that that went back to Vietnam on his destroyer. That was one of the things that inspired me to go into the military. I was, "Look at this! He was a refugee, went to the Naval Academy, graduate, and now—he's a captain and is sailing back to Vietnam!" That's amazing. That really inspired me to do go into the military.

Career Choice

Consequently, Chaco perceived his choice of career as a continuation of the relationship between the U.S. and its Laotians allies during the Vietnam War:

> To understand my career development, it is important to understand the history of why I am here and the history of the Vietnam War. Because of the Vietnam War, we are here in America. My grandfather was an artillery officer who fought with the South Vietnamese Army during the war. Once the monarchy collapsed, he took off his ranks and blended in with the civilian population and made his way towards Thailand. Once they got to Thailand, they stayed in refugee camps and gained refugee status to the United States.
>
> My grandfather, along with his four siblings, my grandmother, and her siblings, were a tight unit. They worked together over here. At the time that my grandfather and his four siblings arrived in Houston, my dad was very young. I believe he was twelve years old when they came over here in the late 1970s or early 1980s.

He also saw that his choice of career was representative of the connection between the Hmong people and the U.S. in Laos during the Vietnam War:

> In the early 1990s, my father returned to Laos and met and married my mother in Northern Laos. My mom is Hmong. During the war, my mother's family were living in the mountains minding their own business, but then, the CIA came recruited them to help fight the Communists. So, the Hmong played a role in the war even though they were

> like a little minority group that didn't want to get involved. I've heard my maternal grandma say things about hearing bombs at night. I would have to get in contact with my grandmother to learn more about her experiences during the Vietnam War. By the time my mom was born, the war was pretty much over. She basically grew up in the communist government of Laos.

He felt that part of his decision to enroll in the University's Army Reserve Officer's Corps (ROTC) Program was to help his family repay the debt that they owed to the U.S. government for saving their lives by granting them asylum after the Vietnam War:

> The United States government has done a lot for me and my family. They helped my grandfather a lot, and one the crucial things was making it possible for him to be sponsored to come over here to Houston. Maybe a lot of people will take that for granted, but I wouldn't be here today in the U.S. right now if it hadn't been that sponsorship. I don't know. Maybe it's my way to repay the government. But I, I am very thankful that my grandparents were able to get that sponsorship to get over here.

Chaco felt connected with U.S. history as well as his family's history as refugees.

Career Performance. Chaco considered his choice to be an officer in the U.S. Army was a personal continuation of his family's legacy of serving in the military. The ideals of legacy fueled his push to perform in his field of study and career.

> While going into the military is to show that I am thankful, it is also a way continue the family legacy. For me to join the military is for us to have a third generation—my grandfather, my uncle, me—to be in the military. While my grandfather served in the Royal Lao Army, my uncle served in the U.S. Army. Now, I will serve as an officer in the U.S. Army.

Connected to his motivation to perform was his hope to represent his ethnic communities:

> There are not a lot of Lao Americans or Hmong Americans in high positions in the military. There is some representation, but there's not a lot. We're not the majority, we're in the minority.

Chaco saw that his career development as opportunities for him to represent his ethnic communities in a positive light.

Ling:

"What other values do they have in their career? Did they ever think about volunteering to help refugees?"

I crafted a vignette for Ling to share the lived experience of a participant who self-identified as non-binary, gender non-conforming, and genderqueer Laotian American and whose career motivation came from their close identification with their parents, family, and ethnic community.

Career Interest

Ling's career interest sprung from their desire to serve their ethnic community. Ling saw the careers of their extended family members as contrary to aiding their Laotian community:

> My cousins steered me away from the type of careers that they did because I felt that I went into college wanting to help people. I felt that it shouldn't be all about how much money you can make; it should be about what I can do to help people. So, that steered me away from the type of things that they were doing, especially when what they were doing came from family members that I didn't like very much.

Ling felt that their extended family members focused on their personal profits instead of the needs of their ethnic community:

> Growing up, they were telling me, "You have to do things that make money. You should make a lot of money and take care of your parent. Don't do things like become a teacher because you won't make any money." At the time, they always seemed so greedy. I thought, "I don't want to be like that." Not that they're selfish or anything like that but that they are doing this just for the money. What other values do they have in their career? Did they ever think about volunteering to help refugees? So, I asked, "Well, you guys are also refugees. I know this because we're cousins. Is this not something that is also important to you?"

For Ling, these family members had forgotten their journey as refugees or their history as descendants of refugees and had turned away from refugees from the Laotian community:

> Their response was, “Look at us now. We are refugees. Right. But, we went to school, we worked, and we made our way to where we are now.” So that was kind of like the type of things that I heard from them. For them, you help yourself; other people can help themselves. They said, “You don't have to do that for other people. It's not useful for you to do that for other people.”

Ling associated these family members’ professions with their professions, which reflected their values. As a result, Ling avoided the professions that these family members adopted. Ling had turned her interest away from career fields that she deemed as not helping her community access and build resources.

> My experience with them steered me away from the business or computer careers—things that would just make me more money—because I felt like those are things that we're going to be able to help people in the community.

Career Choice

Ling felt that Ling did not have a plan or expectation about Ling’s career development because they came from a low-socioeconomic and first-generation college student background. Although Ling had an idea on the type of careers that they should not pursue, Ling did not have an idea on the type of professions that they should explore and choose in order to fulfill their overall goal of serving their community. Ling provided their career choice after their undergraduate education as an example of their unexpected, unplanned career development journey:

> When I think about my career development, I think that the thing that is difficult for me to think about is that I didn't know being an organizer was a job. I didn't know that working with your community was a job. That was something that I accidentally fell into after college.

Career Performance

While Ling’s parents did not attend college and were less familiar with navigating the professional work than Ling’s peers and mentor, , Ling’s parents were their greatest assets in

their career performance. Ling explained how their emotional support and pride in Ling's mission motivated Ling:

> When I was in AmeriCorps, my parents were proud, even though they didn't necessarily say that they were proud. For them, I think it was something that they could understand as a need in the community. They were always happy because people knew what I was doing. People would come and ask them, "I need help with that. Can your daughter help me?" I think my parents knew that they recognized as a service that they could have used when they were applying for their citizenship.

Ling's parents leveraged their cultural knowledge to help Ling perform:

> Also, they always supported me in the sense that if I ever needed volunteers they worked with me on it. It was really nice. They helped me connect to the community to do that work. Throughout the time that I was doing that, they became very versed in citizenship. So, people would ask them questions, and they would be, "Oh, no, you can't apply yet" or "You need to renew your green card."
>
> And, they helped me a lot with talking to the community members because my Lao language, at times, was not that good. It was not that good because I was always too shy to speak it. And, when I finally did speak again, they were encouraging of that too.

Most importantly for Ling, Ling felt that Ling's parents understood the value of Ling's career interest and choice:

> So, I felt that I was finally in a place where people and my family members understood what I was doing.

Avatar

"I think there was a cultural disconnect between my University Center for Mental Health Counseling counselor and me."

I crafted a vignette for to share the lived experience of Avatar, a participant who self-identified as a Laotian American female whose career interest and choice were dissonant with her parents, family, and ethnic community. This dissonance contributed to her career performance in the early years of her higher education experience.

Career Interest

Avatar's family urged her to pursue a career in engineering. Entering college, she attempted to pursue it, but she increasingly fascinated by non-STEM fields, such as Asian Studies:

> At that that time, I actually was thinking about being an Asian Studies major because I really enjoyed my history class and that was the only class that I got an "A" in. The class was called "The Perils and Promise of U.S. Public Education". It was how public education is structured for certain people and how inequities exist in serving certain ethnic groups and people of color. It changed my mind on what exactly I wanted to do. I really enjoyed that class and I told my family that I may want to go into history or sociology.

However, Avatar's family disapproved of her interest and intention to change her field of study from engineering to a non-STEM field. She continued:

> But, they shut that down really quick. They were, "What are you going do with that? How are you going to feel making $10,000 a year?" And I replied, "I don't know. I am 18 years old. I don't even know what I want for dinner tomorrow". Then, they told me to try nursing, pre-pharm, or business and to do something safe.

She tried to fulfill her family's desire by pursuing the STEM field, but her disinterest in them negatively impacted her physical and mental well-being:

> During my second semester, I tried to be on the pre-pharm, pre-med, chemistry or STEM, or business route. I was even more miserable. I locked myself in and stopped eating. My friends and roommate searched for me My friends and roommate came check up on me. They were, "We did see you in classes today. Have you eaten at all today?"

She felt that her family and society, through the myth of the model minority, had pre-determined that her career interest should only be STEM and law:

> I think there's a pressure of trying to fulfill the model minority careers: engineer, doctor, lawyer, or nurse. The model minority myth has created an environment where Asians don't exist in political conversations. We aren't brought to the table when it comes to diversity and inclusion. Or, we sit at the table, but we can't speak at the table. So, I think that's like one of the biggest things for me is always having to fulfill pre-made path that the model minority has created.

Career Choice

Avatar chose to change her major to a non-STEM or non-law field, but did it in secrecy from her family. For a period, her career performance and her physical and mental health improved:

> It was one of those points in my life where I was, "Okay, I think I know what I want to do." So, I declared my major as political communications, but I ended up not telling anyone in my family. And, at the beginning of this spring semester, I started my paperwork to get into Asian American studies as well. I enjoyed the Asian American Studies classes that I had perfect attendance for the semester. I have never had perfect attendance until this semester. That says something, especially because, prior to this semester, I could lay in bed for four days and stay awake and not be able to move or have motivation to do anything.

But, she was not able to keep her secret career choice away from them for long, and they pushed her back into a career that did not interest her. This situation added to her stress and negatively affected her physical and mental health and well-being:

> But, as soon as the family found out, they weren't too happy. They pressured me more into being pre-law. So, I started to be anxious again. I started waking up in the middle of the night and freaking out. I'm was, "Okay, I'm not studying enough." Then, I would get up study. Then, I would be, "Oh, I'm not doing enough." Meanwhile, I was working to pay for my rent while being involved in classes.

Career Performance

So, Avatar decided to turn to her University Center for Mental Health Counseling (UCMHC) for help. She was experiencing a great amount of anxiety at this time because her mother was gravely ill:

> After my mother was diagnosed with leukemia my first semester of my sophomore year, I went to the University Center for Mental Health Counseling for multiple issues. I had explained to my counselor that school wasn't easy; that I missed my family; that I had ADHD and anxiety; and that I'm going into a career that doesn't necessarily suit me but my family wants me to do it.

She tried to get these institutional agents to understand how her situation was unique from the majority of students who attended the University:

> I explained that I realized that homesickness is for sure a big thing for students in general; but, when you grow up like a mother to your like brother and sister and in a really tight-knit family and community but then you get thrown into like a big place like the University, it is different for me than for other students in general. At the University, I realized that a lot of my friends, a lot of people I've met, especially if they grew up in big cities, didn't and grow up that way. They didn't have to grow up with the local community. I knew every single member of the local community, and we ate lunch and dinner together every Sunday my whole, entire life. I didn't know that people didn't do that until I came to the University.

But, her mental health counselor could not relate with her situation:

> My counselor just said, "You sound like you're going through a lot of stuff right now. You just might be overwhelmed." I was, "Yeah, that's why I'm here." The fact that a certified counselor told me "you're going through a lot of stuff right now and is just overwhelmed" caught me by surprise. I was thinking, "Yeah, I know I'm going through a lot of stuff. I don't need someone to tell me that. That's why I'm here right now; otherwise, I wouldn't have made the appointment." I just remember her saying, "You sound like you're going through a lot." She just basically reiterated: I was going through a lot, and I'm only stressed because I'm going through a lot. And, thought, "Yeah, I'm stressed because I'm going through a lot, but I think there's a lot more besides that."

In her struggle to overcome the career dissonance, she turned to her university's institutional for support once more, but she continued to find that her UCMHC counselor remained culturally ill-equipped to support her as a SEAA college student:

> Thinking back, I think there was a cultural disconnect between my University Center for Mental Health Counseling counselor and me. I think a lot of it has to do with the cultural aspects because she didn't get what I was saying. She was an older White lady. She didn't necessarily get like the fact that I can't just say "No" to my parents or "No" to my family. I kept telling her, "No, I can't say 'No'—that's the issue. If I say 'No," it is like disregarding everything that like my family came from. If I say 'No' to them, then it is like being defiant, which definitely falls under that list of things I can't do." And, she didn't necessarily understand that.

As a result, she looking into mental health counseling through the private sector where she hoped to find counseling that was relevant to her background:

> After that, I booked one or two more appointments, and then, I just stopped going and started to look for a different therapist in Austin. Even if I had to pay, I was going to been looking for a therapist in the Austin that fits the demographics that I want, like an Asian woman or even just a minority woman. In my opinion, that would be a lot more helpful than trying to talk to a University Center for Mental Health Counseling counselor.

Chopper:

"What is instrumental in my career development has been the feeling of being in a closet."

I chose Chopper to illustrate the career development experience of a SEAA first-generation college who self-identified as a Vietnamese American genderqueer and who perceived that their intersecting identities impacted their career interest development, career choice, and career performance.

Career Interest

Although Chopper's parents and family preferred that Chopper pursued a STEM field of study and career, Chopper was interested in a creative field of study and career. Chopper desired something that would serve as a mechanism for them to express and promote their identity to their family as well as the greater society:

> In terms of my career, I bring up again the whole feeling of being closeted—not wanting, not being quite who I am—because it was a lot about knowing that my parents wouldn't accept me and that what I had turned to in order to feel accepted.

Prior to the Chopper's initial interview for this study, Chopper revealed to their parents that they identified as genderqueer, but, their parents refused to accept the truth of their preferred identity. They used creative outlets in their field in order to communicate:

> I tried to show them BuzzFeed-created videos where I was, "Oh, I really like these people" and "I want to be who they are" and "I want to create videos just like them." So,

> I knew that I wanted to become a video producer, just like them—being able to create videos for someone in a high school and in a town where it's probably not healthy or safe for them to come out. All those feelings of wanting to create for that purpose derived from my parents not knowing who I really was.

Career Choice

As result, Chopper chose to pursue a Bachelor of Science in Radio-Television-Film degree. They felt that their major allowed them to humanize their story:

> What is instrumental in my career development has been the feeling of being in a closet. I identify as queer Vietnamese American; and, so spending a lot of time just not focusing on who I was kind of built up. I recognized early that I did not want to keep doing this and not wanting to pursue or to continuously hide. What I really wanted to do was to be a storyteller, and that was exhibited on how much energy I was putting into stuff on the side—speech, storytelling, theater. That is why I pursued RTF—Radio, TV and Film.

Career Performance

Chopper felt that the intersectionality of their identity offered an additional barrier to succeeding in their career. They did not consider the radio, television, and film industry as being ready to portray the queer community in an authentic manner. Chopper's hope was that their career can succeed sharing the lived experience of the queer community without tokenizing it:

> I always think about being a queer Asian American or a queer Vietnamese American in the arts. I feel like different parts of my identity—as a queer, as a man, as an Asian, or as sometimes all three—is really tough within the arts field. If I do want to push queer work, it's very underground or it's very hard to push it into the industry. It has to be very appealing to the masses, and I don't think that we're there yet.

As a case in point, Chopper provided an example of a project that they were trying to promote but felt that they were getting resistance from the mainstream media:

> Right now, I'm trying to push a story about a queer Black rapper in Chicago. He's an up-and-coming young. But, even though he's just as dynamic as other characters, there's fear of whether networks will actually pick it up, unless the networks— MTV, MBT, and all those people on Netflix—tokenize queer Black rappers.

J:

"I definitely want to get into a position based on my own merit and my own skill set, not because of any model minority theory or implicit prejudices. Basically, I don't would be type-casted."

I selected J to be in the eight vignettes to tell the story of a Vietnamese American genderqueer college student who felt that mental health and well-being were pivotal and critical in their career development.

Career Interest

J felt that their parents and family pushed them to be interested in the STEM fields because of the trauma that they experienced as refugees resettling in the U.S.:

> It may sound shallow, but it's always a huge thing that my parents came from Vietnam and that their parents and eight siblings were sleeping on the ground of a makeshift bed in the same room with no water, no indoor plumbing, and no water when they came to America. They would sew clothes and sell it just to eat dinner every night. They would talk not about living paycheck to paycheck, but they would talk about living from product to product.

J's family had passed their trauma onto J and expected J to view the world through their lived experience. Their experience was based upon the basic need to survive:

> Every single product they sell could determine if they have a bowl of rice or not or an extra piece of meat that night. So, it's like Maslow's pyramid or "Hierarchy of Needs". And, I definitely can see that in my parents because I definitely know that they wanted us to be fed first and then make sure that we have a house. Everything else comes second.

While J viewed their interest in the arts as a passion and a career, their parents and family viewed J's interest as a hobby and not as a career. The refugee experiences shaped their worldview of what the family considered as a "successful" career:

> So, having fun isn't really important as not being homeless because you don't have a source of income. For my parents, grandparents, my uncles, and their kids—being "successful" has always means that you are able to afford a place, a home, for you and your family and you're never in danger of losing that home or losing food. So, from six in the morning to seven in the morning, they would always be trying to find a way to make more money. Fine arts and paying the bills are very separate. They have never taken it to the next step—you can make money while doing what you are interested—because lifestyle is separate from making money.

The refugee experience molded J's parents and family's meaning of "happiness" in life:

> So, they put into my mind "You're not happy until you can afford your own house, afford your own car, and afford the newest iPad. When you can afford all of that for your family, you would be able to afford all of that for other family members as well."

Even as J's family transitioned from surviving to thriving in the U.S. They projected their memories of their past refugee journey and resettlement onto their offsprings. The projection created intergenerational conflict on what their offspring should aim for in terms of career interests:

> But, for my generation—my cousins, roommates, and friends—we want to go now that our parents have provided us security and food and shelter go above and beyond that. We want to find happiness in our occupation, not just security. We want to make money, but we also want to do something that makes us feel happy and look forward to going to work every day. So, there is a lot of dissonance in the way we view happiness.

J was mindful of their family's concern for J's basic needs and understood the why they wanted him to be interested in the medical and law field, but J disagreed with their means and definition of career success:

> I want to give my parents the benefit of the doubt that they do understand that it's a generational difference, and my mom may say, "We should allow our kids to do what they want so that they can be successful in their own terms." And, I know that that isn't ideal for her. And I know deep down that she will "support" in everything I do. But ideally, I know that she would want me to do medical school or pre-law. My mom's definition of happiness is definitely, "A long as at the end of the day you and your spouse are living underneath the same roof with kids and food on the table and food for the next day."

Career Choice

J settled on a liberal arts field of study that J felt would satisfy both J's creative needs and their parents' need to know that their child would address the basics of survival:

> For me, psychology is a very happy medium between the STEM field and the liberal arts field. Maybe it is because I have my own internal subconscious: "I still need to do something for my parents." Maybe that's why I'm doing overloading myself with majors in psychology, sociology, and French and a business minor.

However, J felt that they needed to closet their career choice for fear of their parents' reaction to J's choice a career in the liberal arts:

> So, I've never said to my parents that I am in the "College of Liberal Arts" because I think they would get a heart attack. Instead, I started out with "psychology" and "sociology". They don't know that these aren't "sciences". I don't think they're able to differentiate between natural sciences and social sciences. Whenever I tell them about my occupational interest, I say, "I'm studying psychology"; I guess it just doesn't click with them, which is fair because I try not to tell them too much to get them afraid of my career path in liberal arts.

Career Performance

J felt that racial and gender stereotyping had influenced their career choice because it affected their perception of career performance. J's initial interest was in fine arts, but J's experience with theater productions in high school discouraged J:

> In the fine arts, I faced interesting backlash being queer and Asian. In my first three theater productions in high school, I was exclusively casted as a stereotypical smart STEM major character. I wasn't allowed to really express the more fun chaotic side that I definitely had.

Thus, J confronted their faculty about type casting J:

> So, I confronted my theater teachers about this. I asked, "Why do you always type cast me as a poised individual who is always reading a book, always fixing his glasses, and always think and saying these very convoluted, long sentences because that's not me? If you want to typecast me, typecast me correctly as the personality type that I am and not as a stereotypical type."

J explicitly pointed out the stereotype and that experience left an impression on J as to what barriers in the arts may await J:

> That definitely is a form of backlash, and I had to tell them that, and they definitely took a step back and they realized that they had casted me according to a very, super-duper racist stereotype. From that moment, I saw that a career in fine arts wasn't meant for me. However, I definitely saw that my White counterparts, my other friends, were casted in an array of different roles.

From that high school experience, J chose a field of study and career where they felt racism would be minimized or nonexistent:

> That is why I'm finding myself in a weird place. In my head, psychology and sociology is in the middle—in a gray area. So, I don't think me being Asian influences my psychology future at all, whether positively or negatively. For me, it's definitely encouraging because I don't want to go into a scenario where I would be judged because of my skin color. I definitely want to get into a position based on my own merit and my own skill set, not because of any model minority theory or implicit prejudices. Basically, I don't would be type-casted.

Finally, the tools and tips that J learned from the mental hospital to help J cope with the career pressures from their parents and family had been helpful for J's career after high school. J had pushed themselves so hard in pursuing biomedical engineering in order to please their parents that they had suicidal ideations:

> When the time came to start applying for colleges, my application looked good, but I just I shut down. I was burnt out. I finally hit a path, a part of my journey, where I couldn't do all these things. And I got overwhelmed. I had a depressive episode. I had shared with a different student that I was having suicidal ideation, and they report it to the school. I was sent to a mental hospital per my high school's recommendation.

From this experience, J learned the skills and tools to persist in their career in the face of pressure from their parents and family:

> Due to the great therapists, psychiatrists, and psychologists I came terms with everything. A lot of things came to light. And, I concluded that I didn't need to appease my family members. Amazingly, when I got out, I still wanted to be a biomedical engineer, and I still

> had a very heavy course load as well as the extracurriculars. But, I knew how to manage my time better.

Recalling the tools and skills that they learned from their therapists, J reached the conclusion that they can be successful without the need to gain approval from their parents:

> I talked a lot about this to my therapist. I realized that what I wanted for a long time was my parents' approval—for them to show me that they were proud of me for choir, band or theater. And that's where I sorted it out in therapy that I don't need their approval, and I don't need their I happiness for me because I can create my own approval and my own happiness for myself. I can follow a complete career path that is for me and not for them.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented eight profiles of participants. There were two vignettes for each ethnicity. I selected these eight to introduce the diversity of identities and experiences among the participants as well as the common themes that permeate among them. In the subsequent chapters, I included a complete overview of all 20 participants.

Chapter 5: Analysis & Findings—Research Question 1

In Chapter 4, I presented eight vignettes to demonstrate the diversity of career development experiences as well as the intersectionality of identities among SEAA college students. I also reiterated the complication of displaying and consuming aggregated Asian American data for the purpose of understanding the unique lived experiences of SEAA college students. In Chapter 5, I will use data from all 20 participants to provide an overview of the participants and to offer analysis and findings for the study's first research question: How do SEAA college students perceive the role (if any) *parents*, *family* (e.g., siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents), *peers* (e.g., friends, classmates, peers), and *institutional agents* (e.g., administrators, faculty, staff) play in their career development? In this chapter, I will display an overview of the study's participants; the codes that I generated during the analysis; and the thematic findings for my first research question . For the findings, I will present them in four parts: (1) parents, (2) family, (3) peers, and (4) institutional agents.

Participants in the Study

The participants in the study consisted of students who were either enrolled in an undergraduate or a graduate program of study at a Texas higher education institution or who were recent (no less than six months after their graduation date) alumni from a Texas higher education institution. A variety of factors influenced their career development, including factors that the study's research questions did not explicitly inquired, such as gender identity and community affiliations. To provide context to their lived experiences as they relate to the thematic findings, I will provide an overview of the participants.

Overview of Participants

Tables 5.10, 5.11 and 5.12 below provide an overview of the participants, including their ethnic and gender identities, student status, academic major, and career field aspiration that they shared either before or during their interviews. They include the participants from the vignettes.

Table 5.10

Overview of Participants, Ethnicity, Gender, Classification

Participant	Pseudonym	Ethnicity	Gender Pronouns	Classification
1	Alex	Hmong	He/Him	Graduate, Doctorate
2	Amber*	Cambodian	She/Her	Undergraduate, Senior
3	Appa*	Cambodian Cham Khmer	She/Her	Graduate, Doctorate
4	Avatar*	Laotian	She/Her	Undergraduate, Senior
5	Button	Vietnamese Korean	She/Her	Alumni with Bachelor's Degree
6	Chaco*	Hmong Laotian	He/Him	Undergraduate, Senior
7	Chopper*	Vietnamese	They/Them	Alumni Bachelor's Degree
8	Cuab	Hmong	She/Her	Graduate, Master's
9	Dr Pepper*	Hmong	She/Her	Graduate, Doctorate
10	Hennessey	Vietnamese	She/Her	Alumni Bachelor's Degree
11	Ice Bear	Laotian	She/Her	Undergraduate, Senior
12	J*	Vietnamese	They/Them	Undergraduate, Sophomore
13	JC	Cambodian	She/Her	Undergraduate, Senior
14	Lida	Laotian	She/Her	Graduate, Doctorate

15	Ling*	Laotian	They/Them	Graduate, Master's
16	Mulan	Cambodian Chinese Khmer	She/Her	Graduate, Doctorate
17	ST	Cambodian Khmer	She/Her	Undergraduate, Senior
18	Sunshine	Hmong	He/Him	Undergraduate, Junior
19	Sydney	Vietnamese	She/Her	Undergraduate, Senior
20	Victoria	Laotian	She/Her	Undergraduate, Junior

*Signifies that participant was included in Chapter 4's vignettes

Table 5.11

Overview of Participants, U.S. Arrival, Parents Birthplace, Grandparents Birthplace

Participant	Pseudonym	Age of Arrival in U.S.	Parents Birthplace	Grandparents Birthplace
1	Alex	Born in U.S.	Laos	Laos
2	Amber*	Born in U.S.	Cambodian	Cambodian
3	Appa*	Before 5 Years of Age	Cambodian	Cambodian
4	Avatar*	Born in U.S.	Laos	Laos
5	Button	Born in U.S.	Vietnam (Father) Korea (Mother)	Vietnam
6	Chaco*	Born in U.S.	Laos	Laos
7	Chopper*	Born in U.S.	Vietnam	Vietnam
8	Cuab	Born in U.S.	Laos	Laos
9	Dr Pepper*	Born in U.S.	U.S.	Laos
10	Hennessey	Born in U.S.	Vietnam	Vietnam
11	Ice Bear	Born in U.S.	Laos	Laos
12	J*	Born in U.S.	Vietnam	Vietnam
13	JC	Born in U.S.	Cambodian	Cambodian
14	Lida	Born in U.S.	Laos	Laos
15	Ling*	Born in U.S.	Laos	Laos
16	Mulan	5-12 Years of Age	Cambodian	Cambodian
17	ST	13 Years of Age or Older	Cambodian	Cambodian
18	Sunshine	Born in U.S.	Laos	Laos
19	Sydney	Born in U.S.	Vietnam	Vietnam
20	Victoria	Born in U.S.	Laos	Laos

*Signifies that participant was included in Chapter 4's vignettes

Table 5.12
Overview of Participants, Parents U.S. Education, High School Location, Undergraduate Institution Location

Participant	Pseudonym	Parents U.S. Education	High School Location	Undergraduate Location
1	Alex	None/None	Out of Texas	Out of Texas
2	Amber*	Bachelor's/Elementary	Texas	Texas
3	Appa*	Professional/Elementary	Out of U.S.	Out of Texas
4	Avatar*	Bachelor's/High School	Texas	Texas
5	Button	Professional/Professional	Out of Texas	Out of Texas
6	Chaco*	High School/None	Texas	Texas
7	Chopper*	High School/None	Texas	Texas
8	Cuab	High School/Unknown	Out of Texas	Out of Texas
9	Dr Pepper*	High School/High School	Out of Texas	Out of Texas
10	Hennessey	Bachelor's/Bachelor's	Texas	Texas
11	Ice Bear	High School/High School	Texas	Texas
12	J*	Bachelor's/High School	Texas	Texas
13	JC	Bachelor's/High School	Texas	Texas
14	Lida	High School/None	Texas	Texas
15	Ling*	High School/None	Out of Texas	Out of Texas
16	Mulan	None/None	Texas	Texas
17	ST	None/None	Out of Texas	Texas
18	Sunshine	Bachelor's/High School	Texas	Texas
19	Sydney	Bachelor's/High School	Texas	Texas
20	Victoria	High School/Middle School	Texas	Texas

*Signifies that participant was included in Chapter 4's vignettes
Bachelor's = Bachelor's (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.S.N.)
Elementary = Elementary Education or Earlier
High School = High School Diploma or General Education Diploma
Professional = Professional Terminal Degree (e.g., M.B.A., M.S.W.)

Table 5.13

Overview of Participants, Field of Study, Career Aspiration/Contemplation

Participant	Pseudonym	Field of Study	Career Interest/Goal
1	Alex	Biomedical Engineering	Higher Education Biomedical Engineering Industry
2	Amber*	Psychology	Medicine Military
3	Appa*	Osteopathic Medicine	Medicine
4	Avatar*	Asian American Studies Communication Sciences Ethnic Studies Political Communications	Higher Education Law Social Justice Advocacy
5	Button	Education	Education
6	Chaco*	Health Promotion	Health Administration Military
7	Chopper*	Radio, Television, & Film	Radio, Television, & Film
8	Cuab	Biomedical Sciences	Biomedical Science Research
9	Dr Pepper*	Library Science	Higher Education Art Fashion Design Library Science Industry
10	Hennessey	Philosophy Psychology	Law
11	Ice Bear	Arts & Entertainment with emphasis in Music and Sound Art Management & Administration minor	Arts & Entertainment

12	J*	Psychology Sociology French Studies Minor Business Minor	Industrial Psychology Industry
13	JC	Computational Chemistry	High Technology Industry
14	Lida	Educational Leadership	Higher Education Nonprofit Educational Industry
15	Ling*	Cultural Studies in Education	Higher Education Nonprofit
16	Mulan	Biomedical Sciences	Medicine
17	ST	Accounting	Public Accounting Industry
18	Sunshine	Nursing	Nursing
19	Sydney	Sociology	Psychiatry Nonprofit
20	Victoria	Community Health Major Psychology Minor	Nursing

*Signifies that participant was included in Chapter 4's vignettes
Bachelor's = Bachelor's (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.S.N.)
Elementary = Elementary Education or Earlier
High School = High School Diploma or General Education Diploma
Professional = Professional Terminal Degree (e.g., M.B.A., M.S.W.)

Table 5.14

Summary of Self-Identified Identities

Category	Identity	n	n/20 Participants
Ethnicity	Cambodian	5	20%
	Hmong	5	20%
	Laotian	5	20%
	Vietnamese	5	20%
Multiethnic	Cambodian/Cham/Khmer	1	5%
	Cambodian/Chinese	1	5%
	Cambodian/Chinese/Khmer	1	5%
	Cambodian/Khmer	1	5%
	Hmong/Laotian	1	5%
	Vietnamese/Korean	1	5%
Gender Pronouns	He/Him	13	15%
	She/Her	14	70%
	They/Them	3	15%
Classification	Alumni	3	15%
	Graduate Student	7	35%
	Undergraduate Student	10	50%
Age of Arrival in U.S.	Born in U.S.	17	85%
	Before 5 Years of Age	1	5%
	5-12 Years of Age	1	5%
	13 Years of Age or Older	1	5%
Parents Birthplace	In U.S.	1	5%
	Outside of U.S.	19	95%
Grandparents Birthplace	In U.S.	0	0%
	Outside of U.S.	20	100%
High School Location	In U.S.	12	60%
	Outside of U.S.	18	40%
Undergraduate Institution Location	In Texas	14	70%
	Outside of Texas	6	30%
First-Generation College Student	No	9	45%
	Yes	11	55%
Field of Study	STEM & Healthcare	9	25%
	Non-STEM & -Healthcare	11	55%
Career Interest/Goal	Arts, News & Entertainment	6	30%
	Education	1	5%
	Healthcare	5	25%
	Higher Education	4	20%
	Law	2	10%
	Military	2	10%
	Nonprofit	3	15%
	Private Industry	7	35%

	Public Policy	1	5%
	Research	1	5%

The majority of the participants self-identified as being of one ethnicity (14), female (14), undergraduate (10), born in the U.S. (17), and first-generation college students (11). All but one of the participants had parents who were born outside of the U.S. The majority of the participants were studying in a non-STEM or -healthcare (11) field of study, such as education; entertainment; radio, television, and film; philosophy; or psychology. However, among the graduate students (7), 71 percent (5) of them were in a STEM or healthcare field of study. Regardless of their classification or field of study, the majority of them expressed interest in private industry (35%) or arts, news, and entertainment (30%) career fields.

Cambodian American Participants

Among participants who included their ethnicity as Cambodian Americans, the majority were undergraduate students (3). All of the participants self-identified as female (5). Most of them were born outside of the U.S. and were not first-generation college students. However, 100 percent of them had at least one parent who did not hold a bachelor's degree. Among the two first-generation college students (FGCS) , neither of their parents had a U.S. education. Their parents' level of education ranged from none to a professional terminal degree (1). Although only one of the Cambodian American participant's field of study was not in STEM or health, 100 percent of them expressed career interest and aspiration in the STEM or health field.

Hmong American Participants

Among participants who included their ethnicity as Hmong Americans, the majority were graduate students (3), and all of them completed their high school and undergraduate education outside of Texas. The majority of the participants self-identified as males (3) and 80 percent of them were first-generation college students (4). 100 percent of them had at least one parent who did not have a bachelor's degree or higher. The level of education among their parents ranged from no U.S. education to a bachelor's degree (1). Regardless of their classification, 100 percent of them were in the STEM or healthcare field of study.

Laotian American Participants

Among participants who included their ethnicity as Laotian Americans, the majority were undergraduate students (3) and all (5) of them were born in the U.S. 80 percent of them self-identified as female (4). All but one of the participants were first-generational college students; and, the one participant who was not a first-generation college student had one parent who had a bachelor's degree. The educational attainment level for all of the parents ranged from no education to a bachelor's degree. Across undergraduate and graduate classifications, 80 percent of the participants were in a field of study that was other than STEM or healthcare. And, only one of the participants included STEM or healthcare into their career consideration or goal.

Vietnamese American Participants

Among participants who included their ethnicity as Vietnamese Americans, the majority (3) were alumni with undergraduate degrees, and the remainder (2) of the participants were undergraduate students. All of the participants were born in the U.S. The majority of them self-identified as females, and the remainder self-identified as genderqueer. 80 percent of the participants were not first-generation college students, and the one participant who was as first-

generation college student had one parent with no U.S. education and the other participant had a parent who had a high school diploma or general educational development certificate. Among the participants, 100 percent of them were not in a STEM or healthcare field; none of them mentioned that STEM or healthcare were part of their career consideration or goal.

What role (if any) do your parents play in your past, present, and career development?

The participants experienced varying levels of parental influence. Tables 5.15 and 5.16 below communicate the varying level of parental influence on participants' career development. While Table 5.15 displays the level of influence by the frequency in which a participant expressed that their parents were a factor (PAR-Parental Influence code) in their career development, Table 5.16 illustrates the areas in which parents had an impact on their career development.

Table 5.15

Frequency of Parental Influence (PAR) Code for Each Participant

Participant	Frequency of PAR Code Occurrence
Hennessey	33
JC	18
Avatar	17
Ice Bear	17
Victoria	17
Sydney	16
J	16
Mulan	15
Amber	15
Alex	13
Appa	12
Ling	11
Chopper	9
Chaco	7
Cuab	7
Button	6
Dr Pepper	6
ST	2
Lida	2
Sunshine	2
Total	241

Note: The PAR code has the highest total frequency among all codes.

According to Table 5.15, participants in the alumni classification had the highest average frequency (16) for parental influence. The next highest average frequency (12) came from undergraduate students. When viewing the frequency in terms of ethnicity, Vietnamese American participants had the highest average frequency (16) for parental influence and followed by Cambodian American participants (13). Hmong American participants had the lowest average frequency (7) of parental influence. Among gender identities, female participants

had the highest average frequency (13) for parental influence closely followed by genderqueer (12). participants. The parental influence frequency average for males was almost half the frequency of either female or genderqueer participants (7). The average parental influence frequency for participants whose field of study was STEM or healthcare related was 10 versus 14 for participants whose field of study is non-STEM or -healthcare. The higher the average PAR frequency, the more presence of parental influence in the lived experience of participants.

While Table 5.15 displays occurrence of the PAR code on a transcript, Table 5.16 shows the frequency of codes co-occurring across participants. The co-occurring codes are indicators of how or where parental influences were more likely to occur in the career development process (e.g., career interest development, career choice, career performance).

Table 5.16

Frequency of Code Co-Occurrence with PAR Code Across Participants

Code Co-Occurrence	Frequency
COC-Choice of Careers	75
FAM-Family Influence	51
AFI-Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Increaser	43
STM-STEM Professions	43
AFD-Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Decreaser	28
CPA-Career Performance Asset	24
IAG-Individual Agency	24
MED-Medical Doctor Profession	24
COM-Collectivistic Mindset	22
LFC-Love for Offspring	20
RRE-Refugee Resettlement Experiences	20
CID-Career Interest Dissonance	19
FAC-Face, Honor, Prestige, Reputation, Respect, Social Status	18
SUP-Success Probability/Possibility	16
ART-Arts & Liberal Arts Professions	15
SIB-Siblings	15
CIC-Career Interest Consonance	13
CPC-Career Performance Challenges	13
ECR-Exploration of Careers Reducer	13
MHU-Mental Health Unhealthy	13

EMP-Employment Probability	12
STR-Stereotype Racial	12
COE-Community Ethnic	11
CLC-Closeted Career Interest	10
SEG-Segregation Profession	10
COM-Comparison & Competition	9
CCH-Career Change	8
FNS-Financial Stability	8
IWV-Ideological World View	8
LOP-Love for Parents	8
SMN-Survival Mindset	8
COU-Career Unfamiliarity	7
CRP-Career Persistence	7
HEV-Higher Education Valued Over Work	7
KSL-Knowledge of Networks & Systems	7
MAW-Money & Wealth	7
EOC-Exploration of Careers	6
PAP-Parental Approval & Pride	6
RAS-Racism Systemic	6
CDM-Career Decision-Making Complexities	5
ECE-Exploration of Careers Enhancer	5
EMD-Emotional Disconnection	5
FEC-Extended Family Career Experience	5
IDP-Individual Dreams and Passion	5
LOU-Love without Understanding	5
MMM-Model Minority Myth	5
PEC-Parent Education & Career Experience	5
REP-Representation	5
EPC-Expectations Consonance	4
IMP-Implicit Influence	4
MHL-Mental Health Lived Experience & Recognition	4
PVH-Profession v Hobby or Passion	4
SUC-"Successful" Defined	4
TRE-Traditions & Elders	4
VNW-Vietnam War	4
BLM-Black Lives Matter Movement	3
CCT-Career Clarity	3
CON-Colonialism	3
EDS-Expectations Dissonance	3
EIA-Ethnic Identity Association	3
FGCS-First-Generation College Student	3
GEN-Gender Roles	3
HAP-Happiness Defined	3
HEE-Higher Education Experiences	3
IOI-Intersectionality of Identities	3

IRE-Immigrant Resettlement Experiences	3
ITT-Intergenerational Trauma	3
LFS-Love for Siblings	3
LOC-Love for Community	3
MHY-Mental Health Healthy	3
OUT-Outcast & Self-Exiled	3
P16-Peer from College Influence	3
ECN-Emotional Connection	2
EID-Ethnic Identity Disassociation	2
FNF-Financial Freedom	2
GDS-Gender Discrimination Systemic	2
HEN-Higher Education Not Valued Over Work	2
IAP-Institutional Agents in PK-12	2
LFE-Love for Family Extended	2
P12-Peer from PK-12 Influence	2
PRF-Proof As Good as Boys	2
SEX-Sexuality Identification	2
SFL-STEM or Failure	2
AGG-Aggregation of Asian Americans	1
CAA-Community Asian American	1
CFR-College as Freedom	1
LAC-Language Challenges	1
LAW-Law Profession	1
OTH-Otherized & Perpetual Foreigner	1
RAI-Racism Internalized	1
SOF-Social Fitting In	1
STT-Stereotype Threats	1

Note: For a complete list of codes and their definitions, refer to Appendix G.

Choice of Careers

Table 5.16 reveals that parental influence occur most frequently (75) in participants' choice of careers (COC). Their influence on career choice was most often related to turning their children toward the STEM field of study or professions (e.g., accounting, engineer, physician, nurse). The STEM Professions code (STM) is the third most frequent (51) among the codes co-occurring with the PAR code. Although the Medical Doctor Profession code (MED) is the fourth frequent (24) co-occurring code with the PAR code, it has the highest co-occurrence among other professions, including engineering, nursing, and accounting. Participants provided insights

into why they believed their parents steered—explicitly or implicitly— them toward STEM fields of study and professions.

Elder Refugee Stories

With the exception of Mulan and ST who were Cambodian American females who arrived in the U.S. between 5 to 12 and 13 years of age or older, participants had parents and grandparents who were refugees who fled their countries because of the genocide and persecutions. Participants explained that the memories of their family's resettlement fueled their parents' investment toward turning their U.S.-born children into STEM professionals. The Refugee Resettlement Experiences (RRE) code, which is seventh (20) on the list of code co-occurrences with the PAR code, represents this scenario.

Alex. Alex, a Hmong American male in graduate school, shared what his parents considered as a "successful" career for him and his five brothers. His parents' definition was based on their refugee experience and on their collective effort to preserve the family:

> My parents had a very exact definition of success—its money. How much money are you bringing in? They expressed this verbally and through their actions.

This definition grew out of their lived experience as refugees:

> One of the motivations to own and operate a poultry farm was money because they realized that they didn't have an education—my parents never went to school—but what they did have was extensive farming experience because they were subsistence farmers in Laos.

The survival of the family was central to them:

> Subsistence farming is just farming to survive. They raised a lot of crops, such as panting rice, corn, vegetables, and may have raided a couple of animals. But, their main job was just to be a farmer to grow food so they could survive on it. Looking back, it was a really good decision for them to be poultry farmers.

And, the survival of the family meant that family members maximized their opportunities, skills, and education to sustain and strengthen the family:

> They had such extended expertise with farming, and they would rather be farmers than factory workers, which is less natural for them. So, one of the conversations that came up was, "How do we capitalize or maximum the skills that we have? I think that was a large driving factor as to why we moved down Arkansas in the first place.

Ultimately, family members were similar to human assets in an organization, and the efficiency and effectiveness in which family members developed and contributed to the organization affected its ability to survive, sustain, and thrive.

Lida. The parents and grandmother of Lida, a Laotian American female, resettled in the Texas Panhandle region. She described her high school as where "all the low-income families" attended and one that "people from the Northside didn't expect much from students here". Her father worked at a restaurant and mother was "working from home doing bank stuff." At the time of her second interview with me, three generations of family members were living under one roof with her. They included her brother, parents, and grandmother. Between her first and second interview, a group of people had tried to "ambush" her grandmother and forced entry into her home. She elaborated on the incident and condition of her neighborhood:

> For people like us who live in the Eastside, it's not uncommon. I think it just shakes you when it happens to your own family. I hear it all the time: murders, gunshots, gang violence—all these outside influences. But, it doesn't hit home until these instances happens to your family. My grad school friends or undergrad friends don't know that I and my family live like this—this is what, this is where, we call home.

She described her hometown as a place where SEAA refugees resettled and where it had been challenging for her and her neighborhood friends to attempt to break away from the cycle of violence and poverty:

> This is like the refugee hub of the Texas Panhandle. We had our own struggles. That's why I'm so proud of all of my friends from our hood that were able to go to these higher education institutions and make it and make something for themselves—to be that person that got their family out of the cycles of poverty and violence and things of that nature.

Lida felt that many of her peers in undergraduate and graduate schools had not experienced living in such communities:

> So, my friends in my childhood understand; they know because we all live through it. But, my grad school and undergrad friends have no idea that this is a normal occurrence. Sadly, it's bound to happen.

Lida saw that higher education was not only a way out of poverty but also a vehicle for understanding and resolving the plight of SEAA families:

> When I try to understand this level and cycle of poverty, I ask, "What does it mean when it comes to education for students like the ones from my hood? What does academic, achievement, and attainment look like for those who schooling might not be their best, strong suit? How are these folks making money for themselves? How are they providing for their families?" These are all tropes of Southeast Asian struggles.

For Lida, the questions that faced her community were more than a mental exercise. They were practical questions that her family and community have had to contend with since she was a child.

Hennessey. Hennessey, a Vietnamese American female, shared why she felt that her parents wanted her to be a medical doctor. She attributed to her father's journey to the U.S. as a refugee:

> My father was a refugee from the Vietnam. He came over after being in reeducation camps. He tried to escape along with other boat people, and the U.S. Coast Guard found him on the ocean somewhere, and they brought him over. My dad is a lot older than my mom. She also came on a boat.

Their refugee resettlement experience drove their expectation for their daughter:

> Whenever they first came to the United States, they had no money. It was really difficult for them. They grew up in poverty. And, they worry for me because they didn't want me to experience the same life as they did. So, my parents wanted me to pick a career—the

> best possible career—the highest paying career—because they were worried for my security.

Their first priority was for their child to survive, and then thrived from that basic necessity:

> They wanted me to get a head-start. That's part of where trying to get a good job comes from. It is not just for status or prestige or any like that. It is also a genuine attempt to trying to survive.

JC. JC, a Cambodian American female, also shared that her parents saw career choice as survival choices for their daughter. She believed that they based their mindset on their lived experiences leading up to their refugee experience:

> My parents told me that they left Cambodia during a time when there were concentration camps in Cambodia. It was a time when somebody named Pol Pot—he was basically acting like a dictator or Hitler. My parents were facing difficulty every day. They told me that it was a struggle to survive. Their mindset was always "you could get killed any day or any second." So, they wanted to escape that life because you couldn't eat that much. From what I remember them telling me, they had to work every day for long hours in an endless cycle.

When her parents resettled in the U.S., they had to endure many hardships:

> My parents pushed me toward STEM because they were thinking along the line of helping me survive after they are no longer around. Coming from Cambodian to over here, they did not start off well. My dad really talks about his memories in high school. He would take a lot of classes, but at the same time, would be working three different jobs—cleaning toilets or doing service and such.

As a result, they did not want their daughter to go through the same hardships:

> He didn't want me to go through the same struggles. Those were not happy memories for him, and he most likely wouldn't want to see the same for me or my brother.

Their experience had direct impact on JC's career development:

> That was the main reason why they immigrated to America for a better life compared to what they were experiencing in Cambodia. So, in a way, I think that shaped my career path because I have a pretty close relationship with my parents.

Love for Parents

For the participants who were mindful of their parents' resettlement stories, they strove to succeed in their academic and career endeavors. Regardless of whether their career interests and choice were congruent with their parents' career preference for their children, they applied their parents' lived experience as motivators in their career development. Chopper reflected, "You see where your parents come from, what your parents went through, and what they did; so, you just have to—there's just no choice—failure is not an option."

Another angle to understand this approach is the understanding that these participants were motivated by their love for their parents, which sprouted from their internalization of their parents' lived experiences. Consequently, participants felt that their quest was to either succeed in their attempt to fulfill their parents' career aspiration for them or to achieve in their attempt to carve their own career path even if their career choice slightly or completely differed from their parents' desire.

Mulan. Mulan, a Cambodian American female, expressed the interplay between the idea of love for parents and choice of careers. After she described how she saw that her mom was happy when her brother showed an interest in pharmacy as a profession, she continued:

> I think my mother's response to my brother doing pharmacy definitely had an effect on my thought process. I want to make my parents happy. I know the sacrifices that they made for us. Ultimately, I want to make them happy at the end of what I chose. So, I think that influenced the way I chose my career path.

Cuab. Cuab shared how her love and respect for her mother came from witnessing her mother's lived experience as a Hmong woman. It affected not only her career consideration but also her college choice:

> Honestly, I did not choose my undergraduate school, it was chosen for me by my mom. I have a lot of respect for my mother because I know how hard she had worked. Especially within our culture, I saw her being disrespected by men, and so it's something that I had in the back of my mind. I learned to love my mom because I've seen the struggle that she had gone through.

JC. JC shared a similar experience when her career interest and career choice aligned with those of her parents:

> I think they have done so much for me that I don't mind taking up any career path as long as it aligns with my interest too. Luckily, in my case, since I do have a good genuine passion for chemistry, things turned out pretty well.

Career Choice Consonance & Dissonance

Sometimes, consonance existed between participants and their parents' career interests and choice or expectation. While some instances were due to actual parallel interests and choice, other were because of the participant simply bending to the will of their parents.

Mulan. This was the case with Mulan when her interests in medicine aligned with her mother's desire for her to choose medicine as a career. She recalled:

> In middle school, I started translating for my parents at their doctor's visits. While their influence affected my interest in medicine, I was also very fascinated by what the doctors were prescribing medication and being able to diagnose my parents. For me, I was also very intrigued and very interested in that process. So, that's why I was passionate about medicine.

JC. Similarly, JC experienced consonance with her parents. She realized such harmony was not always the case, particularly when she witnessed the lived experience of her peers:

> I don't know about some other people's experiences; but, for me, I can safely say that because it has turned out to be almost like a kind of happy story.

JC admitted that the "happy story" was a result of the alignment. However, most of the participants experienced dissonance between their vision of career development and their

parents' ideal. In those instances, the relationship between parents and participants became strained.

Sydney. Sydney, a Vietnamese American female, expressed the effects of the career development dissonance on her relationship with her father:

> When I finally picked sociology, I told him, "Here's my path. I'm going to go to grad school. I'm either going to get a masters in social work or professional counseling. These are very give-to-other-people type of jobs, and they don't come with a very high pay scale."

Her father was more interested in a career that provided her and the family with financial support in the future:

> Since he was concerned about pay scale, he was, "Why couldn't you go to law school or something." I'm told him, "I don't want to be a lawyer."
>
> Yeah, I don't have the greatest relationship with my parents. Part of it is based on other stuff, but a component of it has to do with my disagreement with them over what I want to do in the future.

Thus, the career development of SEAA had consequences that were far beyond mere employment attainment. It affected parent-child relationship that can be everlasting.

Among the participants, the frequency in which the PAR code occurs with career interest consonance (CIC) is 23. In contrast, the co-occurrence frequency for the career interest consonance (CID) is 33. One conclusion is that there is more dissonance than consonance between parents and participants.

Closeted Career Interest & Career Choice

For some participants, career consonance simply meant giving into the will of the parents and they family. And, if participants wanted to stray from the hopes and plans of the parents and family, they had to go underground with their thoughts and actions.

Amber. Amber vacillated between pursuing a career field that her mother desired—medicine—for her daughter and what she desired—cosmetics—for herself. She described the tension in their relationship. She told her parents that she was staying in school to fulfill her prerequisites for medical school, but she shared with me that she still harbored an interest in a creative career:

> I've been trying to open up to the whole entire make-up community. My fiancé's mother is always saying, "If you need anybody to practice on. I'm here for you." And she's always trying to support me and tell her family to support me—to follow me on Instagram for example. She's always there. She's is putting it out there to this whole, entire creative community. It's been really amazing.

She was open with her fiancé's parents about her career interest and passion but hid her career interests from her parents.

> But, this Sunday, my parents and my future in-laws had dinner, and I was really nervous that it would come up. It makes me nervous to bring it up with my parents.

Part of the reason why she did not share her hopes and aspirations with her parents was because of her past experience with such conversations:

> With my dad, I'm able to have a decent conversation or decent respectful conversation without any yelling or agitation. With my mom, I'm slowly starting to be able to have conversations with her, and it's been really nice being able to talk to her and sit down and give her my viewpoint without like arguing with her.

As a result, Amber had to emotionally and strategically plan out her career development conversations.:

> I think it'll take a little bit more time to build up the courage to having to talk to her about it. But, with my dad, I usually would just talk to him in a nice respectful tone. With my mom, I'm always yelling at her, and she's always yelling at me. I would be, "Why are you yelling at me? I wasn't yelling at you in the first place!" Then, we're just yelling at each other. It is horrible.

Amber wanted to maintain an amiable, diplomatic relationship as much a possible with her mother. The topic of career development were one of those subjects that created tension between them.

While some participants directly confronted the dissonant with their parents, others masked their career interests and intentions to lessen or avoid relationship strains with their parents.

Button. Button, a Vietnamese American female, who did not want to communicate with her parents that she was pursuing a career path that was different from what she felt was her parents 'expectations decided to act first and ask for forgiveness afterwards:

> When I switched my major to education, I didn't tell anyone because I was afraid of someone commenting and causing me to switch my decision. I like told everyone after I did it and got accepted. And, then I came home, it was really surprising because they're were just, "Oh, that's great. If you're happy, we support you." So, I guess a lot of those expectations were in my head.

These participants lived in a real as well as a perceived world where they had the "feeling of being in a closet"—to use the words of Chopper. For them, they were living in a career closet.

Mental Health & Career Performance

Many participants shared the connection between their mental health and their career performance. Career dissonance between them and their parents, family, or ethnic community placed more stress on their career development and often hindered their career performance.

Sydney. Sydney recounted her sense of guilt for not pursuing the field of study and career that her father wanted her to desire. After she changed her major from business to sociology, she broke the news to her father:

> I came home that weekend and I told my dad in person. I knew he would like take it a little bit harder. I could tell he was kind of sad and disappointed about it. I remember that

> he specifically said, “So, you would have been such a good business woman”. He made me feel guilty about it.

She wanted acceptance from her father, but she felt that there was distance between them because they no longer had a common career direction:

> I think like he finally understood that, but I kept thinking about how I had made him so disappointed. I think it was mostly to him because he was wishing that I could work my way up and be a rich and powerful person. I think he was just disappointed because like he can't be connected to me in that way.

Sydney explained that once her field of study and career strayed from her father’s career vision she began to feel emotionally disconnected from him. She wanted that emotional connection with him, but she felt that he cut it off from her once she changed her career trajectory. Consequently, she saw that her career development was a path toward or away from him. She sensed that her career development was an emotional as well as a material connection that disconnected or bonded them:

> By “connection,” I did not mean emotional but material connections. Emotionally, I feel like we would be closer if I did what he wanted. I feel like if he had a material connection to me then he might feel more inclined to reach out to me and maybe praise me for my work. It is the kind of connection that I would be like inclined to return. But, his connection was to be is very surface level.

Her father saw her career as a means to his end. She was to be his vehicle for displaying his and his family’s achievement from refugee to “American.” Since he did not have the same opportunity has his daughter to pursue the field of study and profession that he desired for himself and his family, he expected her to fulfill his missed opportunity:

> He mentioned how like would like me to be a lawyer then help him with his business. Since he was not able to do that himself, he wanted me to advantage of what I had.

He was living vigorously through Sydney, and he found himself unable to continue the experience once Sydney changed course.

Analyzing the co-occurrence table for the PAR code, the code Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Increaser (AFI) is third in terms of frequency (43) on the PAR-AFI co-occurrence table. The AFI code signifies instances where participants identified as having their career anxiety, fear, guilt, pressure, shame, stigma, or stress increased. In context of the PAR code, instances of the AFI code means that parental influence in participants' career development increased participants' feeling of anxiety, fear, guilt, pressure, shame, stigma, or stress. On the other hand, the Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Decreaser (AFD) code marks instances where participants felt that these mental health factors decreased for them. In the context of the PAR code, instances of AFD means that parental influence in the career development of participants decreased participants' feelings of anxiety, fear, guilt, pressure, shame, stigma, or stress. The AFD code (AFI) is fourth in terms frequency (28) on the PAR-AFD co-occurrence table. Comparing the PAR-AFI and PAR-AFD co-occurrence tables, the data demonstrate that parental influences in the career development increases participants' anxiety, fear, guilt, pressure, shame, stigma, or stress levels (AF). -START

At times, the increased AF that parents injected were challenges for the career performance of participants. Other times, the increased AF from parents were assets. In this study, the code that indicates that the injection is a liability to the career performance of a participant is Career Performance Challenges (CPC). The PAR-CPC frequency is 13, the 12th most frequent among the co-occurring codes. And, the code that signifies that a factor is an asset to the career performance of a participate is Career Performance Challenges (CPC). The PAR-CPC frequency is 24, the 5th most frequent among the co-occurring codes. This means that the AFI that parents bear on a participant is an asset in helping a participant reach a career goal.

Chaco. For example, Chaco's increased AF was due to his parents demonstrating to him that they supported him. Since he was mindful that he came from a low socioeconomic household, he felt additional pressure to succeed:

> During the first year of college, I'd had to pay tuition because I was not yet eligible to obtain the ROTC scholarship. I would have to basically show the ROTC program through the training that I am committed to the four years. So, my parents had to pay for my first year of college.

The pressure continued for him even after he received a scholarship, but that pressure contributed to his career performance:

> Once I am in the ROTC program, that would all be paid back. But, the pressure with that investment towards me put a little bit more pressure on me as well. And, the pressure is always on because if I do lose the scholarship, we're going to have to pay it back. So, the pressure is on to attend every day, go through physical training every morning, and do well as a cadet there at the battalion.

However, this did not mean that participants perceived an increased AF to be a positive contribution to their mental health and well-being. In fact, participants often viewed PAR, when combined with AFI, as detrimental to their mental health. The code that indicates when a participant perceived a factor to be unhealthy for their mental health is Mental Health Unhealthy (MHU). The PAR-MHU frequency is 13, which is tie with PAR-CPC as the 12th highest code occurrence frequency. And, the code that indicates that a participant perceived a factor to be healthy for their mental health is Mental Health Healthy (MHY). When PAR co-occurs with MHY, the frequency for this combination is 3, which is the 19th most frequency code. This means that participants were more likely to perceive that the anxiety, fear, guilt, pressure, shame, stigma, or stress that their parents placed upon them were motivators or assets that helped them attained a career goal; but, the cost of the attainment was the reduction of participants' mental health and well-being.

Hennessey. Hennessey had parents who increased her sense of AF in an effort to motivate her. They increased her AF by generating a perceived sense of comparison or competition between her and others.

> My parents like to foster a sense of competition, not only among the family but amongst other people. I think that competition is a healthy driver of people toward success. They used it to help you end up getting a good job, which in the end your survival. It's both healthy and unhealthy.

On one end, the increased AF boosted her career performance:

> In some ways, the competition was healthy because it helped it was a driving force for us to like keep on improving. It was like a motivator.

On the other hand, it taxed her mental health and well-being:

> Sometimes, I feel like my parents emphasize it too much, which ends up putting unnecessary burden on me and my brother. We end up with feelings of inadequacy.

Button explained how the comparison that her mother created pushed her to extend herself:

> My mom would always mention, "Wow! Look at your cousin in Korea," or "Your cousin is number one in the math tournament in all of Taiwan!" or "Wow! Look at the school your cousin is going to!" So, you want to be there—be on the same page as everyone.

Amber. However, the creation of pressure brought about by the perception of comparison or competition did not always yield parents' intended consequences. Amber felt that it resulted in her turning away from the medical field:

> It negatively impacted me because I felt that I was forced to go into the medical field. This whole entire thing of being compared to other families and having your parents wanting you to be better than them impacted the way I saw the medical field. Being compared to kids that were 10 years older than me when I was just 8, that's a lot of pressure from them.

Lida. Furthermore, not all instances of parental influence resulted in the increase of AF for participants. On the contrary, it decreased AF while enhancing career persistence, performance, and mental health and well-being for participants. Lida shared how her parents' support helped her persist into her doctoral program:

> They tell me to persevere and push because they remind me where I was a couple months ago or even eight years ago and how this was where I had dreamt that I wanted to be. Since they've seen the hardship that it took for me to get here.

Regardless career consonance or dissonance between parents and participants, parents affected the mental health of participants, and the mental health of participants impacted their career performance.

Summary of Parental Influences

Parents played a critical role in the career development of participants. Their influence was substantial in the career choice of participants. Often, the refugee resettlement experience of parents drove them to shape the career development of their children, and often, participants respond out of love for their parent. When career consonance existed between participants and their parents, there were positive effects on the mental health and well-being of participants. However, whenever there were career dissonances, the mental health and well-being of participants suffered, impacting their career performance in a negative trajectory.

"What role (if any) do your family members (nuclear or extended) play in your past, present, and career development?"

The role of family members in the career development of participants has a close connection to the role of parents in influencing career development. Earlier, in Table 5.15, I had reported that family, coded Family Influence (FAM), is the second most frequent (51) code that occurs with the PAR code. Table 5.17 displays the frequency in which the FAM code associates to each participant. Among the codes pertaining to factors (parents, family members, peers, institutional agents) in participant's career development, the FAM code's total frequency is 108, which is second only to parents.

Table 5.17

Frequency of Family Influence (FAM) Code for Each Participant

Participant	Frequency of FAM Code Occurrence
Victoria	17
Avatar	14
Amber	10
J	8
Chaco	7
Chopper	6
Dr Pepper	6
Appa	5
Button	5
Ling	5
Ice Bear	4
ST	4
JC	3
Mulan	3
Sydney	3
Alex	2
Cuab	2
Lida	2
Sunshine	2
Hennessey	1
Total	109

An important element to note is that this study separates parents from family members. “Parents” refer to mothers and fathers of participants. “Family” references nuclear family (e.g., brothers, sisters, siblings) and extended (e.g., cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents) family members.

According to Table 5.17 Victoria had the highest FAM frequency (17) , and Hennessey had the lowest (1). Both were undergraduate students. Participants in the undergraduate classification had the highest (7) average FAM code frequency compared to the average frequency of alumni (4) and graduate (4) classifications. Slicing the data along ethnicities, the

average FAM code frequencies were as follow in order of highest to lowest frequency: Laotian Americans (8), Cambodian Americans (5), Vietnamese Americans (5), and Hmong Americans (5). When examining FAM frequency among gender identities, there was an equal average frequency between females and genderqueers. Both were at 6. Males were 2 points lower in average FAM frequency. Looking at the difference fields of study, participants in non-STEM and healthcare field of study had a slightly higher average FAM code frequency than participants in the non-STEM and healthcare field of study. Both were at 5. The higher the average FAM frequency, the likelier that familial influence is present in the lives of participants.

Across participants, parental influence is sometimes indistinguishable from familial influences. There appears to not be a demarcation between parental and familial intervention in the career development of participants. Table 5.18 demonstrates this phenomenon:

Table 5.18

Frequency of Code Co-Occurrence with FAM Code Across Participants

Code Co-Occurrence	Frequency
PAR-Parental Influence	51
COC-Choice of Careers	42
STM-STEM Professions	23
AFI-Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Increaser	22
SIB-Siblings	17
MED-Medical Doctor Profession	11
FEC-Extended Family Career Experience	10
FAC-Face, Honor, Prestige, Reputation, Respect, Social Status	10
COM-Collectivistic Mindset	10
COE-Community Ethnic	10
COM-Comparison & Competition	9
RRE-Refugee Resettlement Experiences	8
ECR-Exploration of Careers Reducer	8
CPC-Career Performance Challenges	8
AFD-Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Decreaser	8
EMP-Employment Probability	7
CPA-Career Performance Asset	7
CID-Career Interest Dissonance	7

CCH-Career Change	7
VNW-Vietnam War	6
KSL-Knowledge of Networks & Systems	5
EIA-Ethnic Identity Association	5
CDM-Career Decision-Making Complexities	5
SFL-STEM or Failure	4
IWV-Ideological World View	4
IOI-Intersectionality of Identities	4
IMP-Implicit Influence	4
GEN-Gender Roles	4
COU-Career Unfamiliarity	4
TRE-Traditions & Elders	3
SUP-Success Probability/Possibility	3
STR-Stereotype Racial	3
PRF-Proof As Good as Boys	3
OUT-Outcast & Self-Exiled	3
MHU-Mental Health Unhealthy	3
MAW-Money & Wealth	3
LOU-Love without Understanding	3
HEN-Higher Education Not Valued Over Work	3
HEE-Higher Education Experiences	3
CLC-Closeted Career Interest	3
SOF-Social Fitting In	2
SEG-Segregation Profession	2
PAP-Parental Approval & Pride	2
P16-Peer from College Influence	2
MMM-Model Minority Myth	2
LOP-Love for Parents	2
LFE-Love for Family Extended	2
ITT-Intergenerational Trauma	2
IAP-Institutional Agents in PK-12	2
IAG-Individual Agency	2
EOC-Exploration of Careers	2
EMD-Emotional Disconnection	2
EID-Ethnic Identity Disassociation	2
CON-Colonialism	2
CIC-Career Interest Consonance	2
CFR-College as Freedom	2
CCT-Career Clarity	2
BLM-Black Lives Matter Movement	2
STR-Stereotype Ethnicity SEAA	1
SMN-Survival Mindset	1
REP-Representation	1
RAS-Racism Systemic	1
P12-Peer from PK- Influence	1

MHL-Mental Health Lived Experience & Recognition	1
MES-Mentor, Exampler, Supervisor Influence	1
LOC-Love for Community	1
LFS-Love for Siblings	1
LAW-Law Profession	1
LAC-Language Challenges	1
IDP-Individual Dreams and Passion	1
HEV-Higher Education Valued Over Work	1
GDS-Gender Discrimination Systemic	1
FNS-Financial Stability	1
FNF-Financial Freedom	1
FGCS-First-Generation College Student	1
ECN-Emotional Connection	1
ECE-Exploration of Careers Enhancer	1
CRP-Career Persistence	1
CAA-Community Asian American	1
ART-Arts & Liberal Arts Professions	1

Note: For a complete list of codes and their definitions, refer to Appendix G.

Parents-Family/Family-Parents

Table 5.18 (PAR Co-Occurrence) has the Parental Influence (PAR) code as its first (51) most frequent co-occurrence. And, Choice of Careers (COC) is second (42) most frequent on the FAM co-occurrence table. COC is also first (75) most frequent on the PAR co-occurrence table (Table 5.16). This means that, for some participants, the distinction between parental influence and familial influence do not exist. Instead, they co-exist in the lived experience of participants. This phenomeon is especially pronounced in participants who grew up in households with multiple generations (e.g., siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents) under one roof or in towns or cities where generations of family members are in one town and city and frequently congregate.

Multigenerational Household & Neighborhood

Participants lived in multigenerational household and neighborhoods.

Ice Bear. Ice Bear shared the close-knit, multigenerational aspect of her upbringing:

> My cousin actually lived right next door to me. The living style that I had as a child was really different from most people growing up. I grew up in like same house since childhood.

Furthermore, her extended family were close in proximity to hers:

> My family and I lived on four acres of land that they bought, and my family members live there also. So, I have a house with my grandma. And, there's a house with my aunt and two cousins. Right across, I have my aunt and uncle and my cousins. And. another house would have another uncle and then two other cousins. There are six houses total. The last house is another aunt and uncle and cousins.

Her upbringing was collective:

> We call it "The Village"—that is what the Lao community calls it as well. And, not too far from it, on an acre or two down, is another Lao family. The Lao community calls it "The Farm." So, I grew up around my family; and, that's all I ever knew until coming to college.

On the code co-occurrence tables, the STEM Professions (STM) code frequency is high. It is third (43) most frequent on the PAR co-occurrence table and third (23) most frequent on the FAM co-occurrence table. There is a strong bond between the parental and familial influences on participants' career development, especially in the career choice of STEM fields.

Multigenerational Reinforcement

Aunts, uncles, grandparents, and even cousins often reinforced career interest and choice.

Victoria. Victoria explained how the dynamic of a multigenerational household impacted her career development. At the time of her final interview, she was living in the same city as her mother, aunt, mom, and grandmother:

> My parents and grandparents always wanted me to be in the stereotypical Asian career field—the healthcare field. And by "healthcare field," they want me to be a doctor, they want me to be a pharmacist. My family emphasizes pharmacy the most. My aunt, the one recommended me to do this study, was a pharmacist.

Since her mother was not able to fulfill her grandmother's wish to be medical doctor, the torch passed on to Victoria to complete the goal:

> Since my mom wasn't able to pursue her career in the healthcare field like she planned, my whole life, she enforced that on me. With my family pressuring me to go into the healthcare care and with me knowing just the healthcare field all my life, I am going into healthcare.

While Victoria's mother reinforced her grandmother's preference for Victoria's field of study and career, Hennessey had a reversed experience:

> My grandma is the only other person from my extended family who affects my career. The rest of our extended family is too far away. She would mimic my parents. She told us to do what my parents wanted us to do. She told us to be doctors just like how my parents did.

Intergenerational Trauma

Another notable data on the code co-occurrence tables is the Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Increaser (AFI) code. It often occurs in conjunction with the PAR and FAM codes. While the frequency of the AFI code on the co-occurrence table for the PAR code is third (43) most frequent among co-occurring codes, it is fourth (22) on the co-occurrence table for the FAM code. Stories are passed down from grandparents to parents and from parents to their children in a multigenerational family and shared intergenerationally. In the case of career development related stories, this can increase or decrease the anxiety, fear, guilt, pressure, shame, stigma, or stress for participants.

Lida. Lida recognized the lived experience of her grandmother's and mother's generation on their refugee journey:

> Grandma lost her husband when she was in her late 20s. My grandma brought all four of her children to America as refugees. She made sure that they weren't shot down in the Mekong River by Communists as they were trying to get to the refugee camps in Thailand. Then, they got sponsored to come here.

She reflected on the difference between their challenges and hers:

> I think about that story. I think about how when I was 17 or 18 I was just worried about senior year high school, which college I was going to attend, and college financial aid. But, at that age, my mom was fighting for her life. It's such an interesting parallel to realize that—to see the amount of opportunities that I have here and the privilege that I have being born in America.

Lida used their story to put her life into perspective and to overcome barriers that she had encountered in her career development:

> It's intergenerational trauma. I feel my mother's pain. I feel my aunt's pain and my grandmother's pain. They are my backbone. No matter what I did, from K through 12, they supported me. I instilled upon myself to want good grades and do well in school because I knew that I wasn't going to stay in the Texas Panhandle.

Lida recognized her anxiety as intergenerational trauma. It was both a liability and an asset for her career development. While she witnessed it as a barrier, it was also a motivator that assisted her in her career performance.

Victoria. Victoria explained how the intergenerational trauma in her family placed additional pressure on her to succeed, particularly in the healthcare field:

> My uncle was the favorite child between my mom and my aunt. He ended up going to University as a biology major. He wanted to go to medical school. He completely dropped out of college and didn't finish school. He ended up becoming a photographer or videographer. He has his own business. With his wife's money, they are doing business together. They're pretty well off, but I think my grandma feel so ashamed.

Since her uncle was unable to succeed at carrying out her grandmother's mission, the family placed the responsibility on Victoria to achieve it:

> It was what happened with her son that she does not want that to happen to me. She was, "Like you, your uncle went to University wanting to be a doctor, and he didn't finish. Don't be like your uncle." So, my whole life, she was always, "Don't be like your uncle. If you're going to go to the school, you need to finish.

As an 18-year old entering college, Victoria carried with her the hopes and reputation of her family in her ethnic community. The family placed on her the expectation to break the cycle of not succeeding in higher education, specifically in getting into medical school:

> My grandma did not want it to happen again because of me. She said, "Our reputation was already shattered whenever your uncle dropped out of school to become a videographer. The whole community was talking about us. I don't want people talking about us. I want people to think that we are successful because we are going to be successful. So, don't mess up like your uncle and please finish school!"

Gender Roles & Expectations

Female participants who came from traditional, multigenerational households or communities had an additional dynamic to their career development. Their families were hieratically structured regardless of whether it was patriarchal or matriarchal.

Victoria. Victoria explained that even if she knew of a better career or desired a path different from healthcare, the concept of her making career decisions and choosing career paths is complicated in a traditional, multigenerational household:

> The difference between my opinion and everyone else's option is that I was born as the grandchild. I was the firstborn grandchild, which means that, no matter what, I will always be a kid in their eyes. In my family, there's a big like difference—a big gap—adults and kids. My sister is 18 and I'm 21. We're still "the kids". Even though my mom and my aunts and my uncles grew up in the U.S., they were still raised in a very, very traditional household.

There was a hierarchy in her family, and she was toward the bottom of it because she was born into the younger generation.

> So, I have learned that, at the end of the day, you have to respect your elders. They are older than you, whatever they say is right, even if it's wrong. It's right because they're not going to admit that it's wrong, nor are they going to apologize. I learned that when I was younger, around 15 or 16. I was like, "No, that's wrong" because of this and that. And, I would get in trouble a lot for it. I would get spankings, whoopings all of the time. So, as I grew older, I learned that the traditional views are here to stay. There's nothing that I can do to change their viewpoint on anything.

Even if Victoria had more and accurate information about her career development, her thoughts on her career development was secondary to the viewpoints of the elders. And, if she wished to exercise personal agency, she had to do so in secrecy in order to demonstrate that she respected the hierarchy:

> So, the way that I take matters into my own hands is to fake it till I make it and listen to them and hear what they have to say. And, I retain their information that they're telling me, but I already know what is the right information from right from wrong information. I know what steps are necessary steps for me to go into my career.

And, Victoria's birth order in her family was not the only factor that restricted her career decision-making abilities. She explained that her gender played a role as well. She shared that she had family duties that were expected of females not of males and that she had to work harder than males to gain respect in her family:

> My family came here from Laos with my grandma, my grandpa, and their three kids. My grandpa died when I was born in 1999. So, it's literally a house, a whole family, full of women. And, there's my uncle, my grandma's son.
>
> In most Asian community or Asian families, the son is like the king—the King of the House. So, my uncle, who was the middle child, was the favorite child between my mom and my aunt.
>
> When we lost my grandpa, my uncle was the only boy in the family. It turned my uncle into the new "The Man of the of the Family". He's my grandma's little prince, her King. He was treated like a King his whole life.

Her grandmother, the matriarch of the family, reinforced the hierarchy and gender roles:

> It was different in the way that my mom and my uncle were raised. He had it all. But my mom, though she is the oldest daughter, she couldn't go to prom. She couldn't do any that; she had to like stay home and cook and clean—the traditional Laos girl lifestyle—living with traditional parents.

On the other hand, her mother's brother received a privileged treatment:

> On the other hand, my uncle was playing sports, going out late, crashing BMWs, and doing all types of crazy as he was growing up. I don't think he had motivation, you know, to go to college. Since he's a boy, they could do no harm. He went to University but ended up dropping out because he was partying too much during his freshman year. After that, they kind of gave up on him. But, he never had those expectations. He never had that pressure to go to medical school because they didn't care if he essentially went at the end or not.

In Victoria's family, females could not lead the family and could only represent the family if they entered the medical field:

> I am grateful that I am a girl; but if I were to be a boy, I wouldn't have this much pressure. I think my family would value me much more if I was a boy because I would able to keep the last name of the family. They wouldn't be so hard on me like "You have to go to school. You have to be a nurse. You have to go to medical school."
>
> I think it is definitely way different being raised as a girl compared to being raised as a boy. As a girl, I naturally have more responsibilities, my family depend on me a lot more, I have to do so many things.

Her uncle only had to simply exist as a male in order to be respected:

> But, as a boy, I get to relax, I get to chill. The most work I do is would be to get the rice from the trunk after grocery shopping. I would be mostly there for heavy labor work. At least in my family's eyes, I would do the "manly" stuff.

But, for her and her mother, they had to achieve much more in order to gain respect. She reflected, "But girls, we take more pressure, we take more heat."

Cuab. Like Victoria, Cuab , grew up in a family with a hieratical style of living and an ethnic community with a patriarchal worldview. She felt that she needed to work harder than her male counterparts to prove her worth:

> Growing up as a Hmong daughter, my role in the family is not as emphasized as much as men. In our culture, men are put on a pedestal while women are just expected to do the housework and get married. So, for women in our culture, we really have to prove ourselves, especially to the elders who have still have the mindset that men are the ones in control.

Elders did not celebrate the achievements of females:

> Men are the household. They are everything within our culture. So, for the elders, if a daughter did well and achieved, that is good, but it would not be as good as compared to a son.

Cuab offered her aunt's situation as a case in point:

> My aunt is actually pursuing her PhD and she has her own business, but because she is a *nyab*, which is she is a daughter-in-law, she isn't really recognized. But, if she was her husband, which is my uncle, which is my step dad's brother, if he accomplishes something, he gets the recognition. So, what she accomplishes is the recognition for him, and in the eyes of the elders, they would say, "Oh my gosh have your wife is great because she accomplished so much even though she has kids and business and everything."

Elders in her ethnic community did not recognize her aunt's achievement as belonging to her aunt but to her uncle:

> Instead, it would be the husband who gets the recognition, and the elders would say to the husband, "You made a good wife you; you made a good choice. It was because of you that she was able to achieve this."

The elders did not recognize females as having leadership roles in the family. They credited all achievement to the head of the household, which could only be a male.

> It is because the elders look to the grandparents, and they say, "This is my grandpa. He has left this legacy, and it's passed down onto the sons". If a household has one son, that one son will carry on the name of their household. They're pretty much the next leader of the household. They represent not just the family, but also the ancestors who showed great accomplishments. The son is pushed forward to always look great.

Compared to their male counterparts, females in traditional, multigenerational families and ethnic communities must achieve in an extraordinary way in order to gain recognition and respect:

> So, the girls aren't really looked upon in the aspect of our culture. They are kind of looked down upon. Personally, I don't like to view it that way because I would only be putting myself down. It's really true in the aspect that you really have to prove yourself as a woman.

For Cuab, one path toward achieving the extraordinary was to earn recognition through higher education degrees.

Ice Bear protested against idea that women in her family were seen as needing of men in order to succeed and saw that her college accomplishments were rebuttals to that way of thinking:

> Being a Lao American female college student means a lot to me. I talked to my mom a lot about this—how the Lao culture is demeaning toward women.

She saw the suppressive effects of gender inequality in her traditional, multigenerational family and ethnic community on her mother:

> My mom tries to teach me, "Fend for yourself. You don't need a man to succeed." But, I definitely see the way my dad treats my mom like the old times—how men treat women in the Lao community. So, she kind of contradicts herself whenever she's trying to teach me stuff. Being a female college student means a lot for me because it proves to the men in the Lao community that like woman you can do stuff too.

Although her mother was mindful of the environment in which she lived, Ice Bear's mother could not escape from being treated as an unequal in her family and ethnic community.

Family Representation As Community Representation

In the discussion about family influences, the conversation would be incomplete without an examination of the role of the ethnic community. Although the role of ethnic community influence was not a part of the inquiry of this study, a picture of the impact of parents and family on the career development of participants would be incomplete in understanding the career development of the participants. The line between parental influence and familial influence can

be blurred because of the effects of the ethnic community on parents and grandparents, especially if they were highly engaged with their ethnic community's institutions (e.g., church, temple, New Year festivals, annual high school graduation recognition). Within this discussion, the concept of "Representation" became prominent, and within representation there were two subcomponents: "Pride" and "Face." While, pride is how ethnic community is represented to external communities (e.g., other Southeast Asian American communities, Asian communities, or non-Asian American communities) face is how the family, through the individual, is represented to the ethnic community. The ethnic community pushed the expectation of representation onto the families and the families pushed the expectation of representation onto the individuals. And, in a multigenerational family household or close-knit community, these factors come together to shape the individual's lived experience, particularly their career development. Furthermore, since participants were on the bottom of the generational hierarchy in their household and ethnic community, their thoughts, knowledge, and skills were not creditable, especially if they were females.

Pride As Representation

Somme participants felt that they had a duty to carry the pride of their ethnic community in the wider society. They viewed their career development as a representation of the best of their ethnic communities.

Appa. Appa felt that her ethnicities were minorities among minorities, she welcomed the opportunity have their ethnic identities showcased on the world stage:

> I had noticed on your survey you actually I put "Cham" as one of the options. My family is full of Chams. I thought it was really awesome because I've never gotten to answer that on anything. I feel like most people don't even know what that is. I would say whenever I do go to California or to Washington there's a lot of Cham people there, and I

> feel somewhat connected to them. I feel it kind of pushes me towards making more of myself and more of my name because I want to make Cham people proud.

She saw that her career performance was a tool for her to spotlight her ethnic community:

> We don't really see big names associated with Cham people. So, in a way it makes me feel motivated to want to pursue something really big, something really grand, something you to make and to have Cham people feel represented. I do think that the path that I'm thinking is going to put me in that direction.

She also felt that her career performance could help her ethnic community generate additional achievements:

> When I say that I want to do a big thing to represent the community, I mean being able to inspire the younger individuals to pursue more for themselves. And, I think this career path touches on both the Cambodian community and the Cham community. So, I'm hoping that by pursuing medicine and by integrating my identity as a Cambodian and Cham person with my career in medicine, I can inspire some of the younger Cham and Cambodian people.

Like an Olympian, Appa viewed higher education and career development as chance to represent and to compete for official recognition.

ST. Like Appa, ST felt that her ethnic community was underrepresented in higher education:

> I feel proud of representing Cambodian people. When I am at school, I do not find a lot of Cambodians. They are hard to find. I feel that a lot of us do not have the opportunity to go to school. So, I use this chance to teach people about Cambodians. They would ask, "Cambodia. Where is that?" They don't know. So, I feel that I have a chance to share with people where Cambodia is and our culture and the country. When I meet people, they know Vietnam and they know Thailand, but they don't know where Cambodia is.

ST saw higher education as well as professional careers as an opportunity to educate others about her culture and her ethnicity.

Sunshine. Sunshine viewed his presence in higher education and in his field of study as an opportunity to have representation for Hmong Americans. He stated:

> For me, it's kind of cool to be a Hmong American college student. When you go to school, there are different types of Asians. And people would always think that I am Vietnamese, Korean, or Chinese. One time I got Cambodian.

He sought opportunities to educate others about Hmong people. He saw his presence in higher education as an ambassador for his people's history and culture.

> When people find out that I am a Hmong, they would be, "What's that?" Then, I would grab my phone and pull up and show them picture—"This is my people. This is what I am." They would ask, "Where you from?" And, I would tell them, "I'm from Laos because that's where my people are from. We're kind of nomadic. We live in Laos and in Vietnam. We don't have our own country. We're our own ethnicity." People always find it really interesting that we are our own people, but we don't have our own country. I guess I would just enlighten the world about my people. It is not just an opportunity to put my people out there but also an opportunity to put for my culture out there.

Sunshine was also mindful of his representation of being a Hmong American college student in his field of study and career, nursing:

> Among all of my cousins, I'm the only nurse. I have one aunt on my dad's side who is a nurse and one aunt on my mom side is a nurse. Even though I'm not a pioneer in nursing, I feel like I am pioneers because there's not a lot of Hmong nurses or Hmong in the medical field.

Sunshine approached higher education and career development with a mindfulness of the underrepresentation of his ethnicity.

Alex. Alex also felt a sense of being a representative. Like Sunshine, Alex used the word "pioneers" to describe his opportunity to represent:

> It means a lot to me to be a Hmong American graduate student. Growing up, I didn't see a lot of Hmong Americans in grad school. I don't personally know of any Hmong Americans who have their PhDs. I know that they're out there, but I don't know any, and there isn't one in my family.
>
> It feels like my cousins and siblings are the first ones to be able to go to school to graduate from high school and college. Now, hopefully, get our PhDs . So, we are like pioneers in our community a large extent. I don't know of another Hmong American getting his PhD in biomedical engineering. I don't know any Hmong person who had done it in general.

Like Appa, Alex saw his career performance as an opportunity to help his ethnic community generate additional achievements:

> So, it definitely would be nice to do that. And, I hope that in the future other Hmong Americans are interested and that they can find me. I have not found anybody who looks like me who's done this. And, it's really good that I am. I do foresee that that would be a great benefit to my community.

Alex saw his career development as a vessel for helping his ethnic community carry their hopes and dreams in the U.S.

Ice Bear. Ice Bear elaborated on the concept of representation. Her understanding of representation was that it was specific to professional careers or occupations:

> The Lao community's expectation from me is representation in America. Representation to show someone from the Lao community made it. Representation is having Lao people in high occupations. Higher occupations would ones that makes money; one that makes a difference; one that puts Lao people on the map. Representation would be seeing Lao people in the medical field and engineering field. Recently, my dad showed me a congresswoman in one of the northern states. She was running for a higher position.

Her career interest, career choice, and career performance not only had to take the needs of her family into account but also the hopes and dreams of the Lao community. As result, she felt that her career had to be a community asset or at least seen as an asset to her ethnic community:

> Even in with arts and entertainment field, my dad is continuously trying to find ways that I can use my degree to do something big. I applied for an internship at NPR, and he kind looked into it. He said, "You can make your own podcast and talk about the Lao community".

The closer a family was connected to its ethnic community, the more the family was in tune with the expectation to send forth a representative that would increase the pride of the ethnic community . As result, the family turned to family members, particularly the younger generation, to represent the ethnic community. Ice Bear elucidated on this phenomeon:

> I would say the biggest barrier to my career development is this feeling of guilt that I have about going into my career because I am not being the person that I'm expected to

> be. The expectation is mostly coming from my dad and the Lao community. I think the Lao community affects my dad, and he tells me what he wants me to be.

Her ethnic community institutionalized these communal values and expectations through public and formalized ceremonies and celebrations:

> At the end of every year, the Lao community has this celebration for high school graduates. It would be for the whole Lao community; it celebrates, "Lao Children Graduating." It is like "The Best of Lao American" kind of things.

Elders in her community reinforced community expectations through both actions and judgements:

> Around this time, there would be a lot of gossip and chatter around it. They would be, "Did you hear this person didn't graduate from high school? They have to take a summer class." So, everybody knows about your business. It's just like high school where people would want to be the popular kid.

Being in the arts and entertainment field of study and career, Ice Bear felt that the elders in her ethnic community expressed their disappointment through implicit interactions with her. During her interviews with me, she acknowledged that these expectations and interactions caused her an overwhelming amount of anxiety. I observed her feelings through the many tears that she shed during our talks. The elders' communication of community expectations and judgment was explicit through ceremonies and implicit through nonverbals:

> When we have gatherings, the older generation, such as my grandma, and another we call "elder grandma" even though she is not technically my grandma, would always talk about going into college for medicine. When they asked me whether I was going to college for the medical field, I said, "Oh, no, I do music"; and they were just, "Okay." And, that's it.

Ice Bear was mindful of their nonverbal cues:

> They're not going to say to your face that they're worried that you're not doing much, not doing enough. But, they're much nicer to people and my cousins who were going into the medical field or in the engineering field. The elders would be going up to them to talk and saying, "How are you?". And, they would make an effort to show that they like you. For me, there would be no greetings. I get a lot of that.

She observed the difference between those the elders deemed as pursuing STEM fields and those who pursued careers that had no meaning to the community:

> For example, when my sister and I arrived at events together, they would always go up to her. And, they were, "Hey, how are you doing? What's up?" But then, they don't talk to me. The just they walk away after that. I think they treat my sister the same as those in the medical field because they know that she wants to go into the medical field. So, for us, they would come and greet my sister, but then walk away without acknowledging me.

Her interactions with elders in the community left her feeling not only invisible but devalued:

> These times were after I had declared my major after my graduation high school party. At that event, my parents wanted to have a really big party because I was the first my family to go to college. The whole Lao community was literally there. I would to be at the front greeting all the guests, a lot of times the elders would be, "What are you going into?" And, I would be "arts and entertainment, like music." And then they just nodded their heads and then go in the party.

Ice Bear felt the expectations of her community whenever she was in the community as well as when she was at home. Her community's expectation and parents' and family's expectations appeared to her as one and the same.

Victoria. Victoria's recounted the time her grandmother tried explain the importance of representation and how Victoria came to understand that her career performance and success was part of a greater plan that was beyond needs and wants. She explained:

> Where does my grandmother's perception of shame is coming from? It's definitely from the community. The family embarrassed her. It's a familiar pattern to her. When my uncle dropped out, she was, "There so many Vietnamese people and Chinese people are so successful. Look at all our doctors. Look at all our dentists. I know that you notice that they're all Vietnamese people. Where are all the Laos people?"

Her grandmother directly tied career development to community pride and representation:

> Then, my grandmother would always say, "I want ya'll to be so successful so badly because there's not a lot of Laos people—at least to my understanding—that are is successful like that. You don't see a lot of Laos doctors, a lot of Laos dentist."

For her grandmother, representation was meaningful in the competition against other ethnicities, including SEAA ethnicities:

> And, she continues, "You need to make a difference. You're in competition with all these Vietnamese people. You need to stand out!"

Victoria internalized her grandmother's concept of representation and competition:

> That's the kind of motivational words that she has always given me my whole life. That's what really kept me going toward the medical field. And, this is why I want to finish. I'm so determined to finish because it is true that we all come from other countries. And, we are all first-generation college students. But why is it that you guys can't complete it, but then, she says, "Laos people, they just give up."

Therefore, reputation aided in representation. And, reputation came from career development, particularly career performance. It was a signal to other ethnicities that one's ethnic community had achieved in America. According to her grandmother, becoming a medical doctor was proof of ethnic success:

> And she adds, "You give us that reputation that Laos people are lazy and they can't finish school enough to be doctors. You don't want to be like your uncle and drop out of school and then do something easy like become a videographer."

Her grandmother saw Victoria's opportunity in higher education not merely as a personal and family quest but more as a community's quest. It was a quest that her grandmother, mother, and uncle pursued but failed and now it was up to Victoria's generation to succeed:

> Even though she explained it in a little traditional and different way, I still kind of got the message that she was trying to get to me to understand. She said, "I couldn't do it. I couldn't make the change. Your mom couldn't make the change. Your uncle couldn't make a change. You and your sister—you guys are all that we have left.

In her grandmother's mind, higher education and career development was a geopolitical struggle among Asians and her family were warriors on a crusade within and beyond the Lao community:

> We need someone in the family to prove our community wrong—that we are not the bottom feeders of Southeast Asia. We're not the villagers. We can be successful. We are just as smart as the Chinese people. We are just as smart as the Vietnamese people. Why is the percentage rate so much higher in the Vietnamese from medical school than other Southeast Asian people? Why are there so many Chinese medical school graduates?

While these types of conversations increased anxiety and stress on Victoria, they also served as motivators for career persistence and performance. Victoria's continued:

> So, that's the kind of thought that she made me think. And, it gave me motivation, and I thought to myself, "You do need to finish school. A part of it is because you come from a traditional family, but the other part is that you need to go to be a nurse or something in the medical field.

For Victoria, chasing her career goals was chasing her family's and community's aspirations.

Face As Representation

In Victoria's story, her grandmother spoke about her feeling of shame and embarrassment not only on front of communities beyond her ethnic community but also within her Lao community. She brought up the idea of representation of family within the ethnic community, which some participants identified as "Face." The face that her grandmother wanted to present to her ethnic community was one that the ethnic community would want to send forth to represent them.

Dr Pepper. Dr Pepper explains the concept of face as a form of representation. It was representation within the ethnic community. It was a badge of identification or affiliation to the ethnic community:

> "Face" is showing people the good side of you. Putting a good face is showing to others what you want to portray to them. It is about how I see you as. By "others" or "them," I mean "other families, the community." I know that in my Hmong community, face is a big thing. You don't want to portray yourself in a negative way because everyone is kind of related somehow, or we kind of know someone who knows all who ends up knowing you. So, you always want to make sure that when you put yourself out there, there's nothing bad about you that people can say about you.

For Dr Pepper, face was gendered:

> For example, it is like me being a good daughter—a good "Hmong daughter." And, when you get married, you also bring, a lot of … I really can't really put into words… It's not just marriage. It's career.…it's like your résumé, but not on paper. It's on the outside…This face gets you a good reputation. It gets you to be in a nice family or to have people respect you or take you seriously.…Your reputable career gets you face. Then, you're good, and you're a well-respected figure in the community. Face gets your family respect in the community.

Face was as social as it was communal:

> If you have a "bad face," your family will still accept you. But, they won't talk much about you; or when people bring you up, your family will just say very little, and then they change the subject because it's not something that they want to brag about.

Career development and face had a close relationship:

> Your career is tied to face. Any career that has a stable income gets you face. A career in health is one example. Other careers that get you face include lawyer or accountant.

For Dr Pepper, she had the dual challenge of maintaining face while maintaining gender roles. Both of these situations led her to not return to her hometown after her undergraduate education, to travel the world, and to move from Minnesota to Texas for her master's and doctorate pursuits.

Summary of Familial Influences

Parental influence was closely connected to familial influence, which was closely connected to ethnic community influence. The connection was so close that participants often did not make a strict distinction between family and community influences. One may conclude that a bidirectional relationship existed between parents and family and also between family and ethnic community members. For better or worse, this interconnected relationship contributed to the mental health and well-being of the participants throughout their career development. This phenomeon appeared to be most prominent among participants who came from households and

communities that housed multiple generations (e.g., siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents) under one roof or in one "Village," "Farm," town, or city.

"What role (if any) do your peers play in your past, present, and career development?"

Although the frequency of a code on participants' transcript may have a lower frequency than their PAR code or FAM code, their college peer may be more significantly influential than either their parents or their family. The Peer from College (P16) code frequency table for the participants are below:

Table 5.19

Frequency of Peer from College (P16) Code for Each Participant

Participant	Frequency of P16 Code Occurrence
J	7
Victoria	7
Avatar	6
Sydney	5
Amber	4
Appa	4
Lida	4
Chaco	3
Chopper	3
Dr Pepper	3
Button	2
Cuab	2
Ling	2
ST	2
Alex	1
Hennessy	1
Ice Bear	1
Mulan	1
Sunshine	1
JC	0
Total	59

The following table provides the frequency for the codes that co-occur with the P-16 codes. The higher co-occurrences indicate the area in which college peers impacted the career development of participants.

Table 5.20

Frequency of Code Co-Occurrence with P16 Code Across Participants

Code Co-Occurrence	Frequency
CPA-Career Performance Asset	22
AFD-Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Decreaser	17
AFI-Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Increaser	11
CRP-Career Persistence	9
CCH-Career Change	8
COM-Comparison & Competition	8
CCT-Career Clarity	7
COC-Choice of Careers	6
KSL-Knowledge of Networks & Systems	6
P12-Peer from PK-12 Influence	6
AGG-Aggregation of Asian Americans	3
ECE-Exploration of Careers Enhancer	3
IAG-Individual Agency	3
MES-Mentor, Exampler, Supervisor Influence	3
MMM-Model Minority Myth	3
PAR-Parental Influence	3
CFR-College as Freedom	2
CPC-Career Performance Challenges	2
EIA-Ethnic Identity Association	2
FAM-Family Influence	2
HEE-Higher Education Experiences	2
IPS-Imposter Syndrome	2
STM-STEM Professions	2
ART-Arts & Liberal Arts Professions	1
CAA-Community Asian American	1
CAM-Choice of Academic Major	1
CDM-Career Decision-Making Complexities	1
CID-Career Interest Dissonance	1
COE-Community Ethnic	1
COM-Collectivistic Mindset	1
EMD-Emotional Disconnection	1
EMP-Employment Probability	1
FAC-Face, Honor, Prestige, Reputation, Respect, Social Status	1
FNF-Financial Freedom	1

GDS-Gender Discrimination Systemic	1
GEN-Gender Roles	1
HAP-Happiness Defined	1
HEV-Higher Education Valued Over Work	1
LFS-Love for Siblings	1
MAW-Money & Wealth	1
MHL-Mental Health Lived Experience & Recognition	1
MHY-Mental Health Healthy	1
OUT-Outcast & Self-Exiled	1
PAP-Parental Approval & Pride	1
PRF-Proof As Good as Boys	1
RRE-Refugee Resettlement Experiences	1
SIB-Siblings	1
SRU-Stereotype Racial Presence Unawareness	1
STR-Stereotype Ethnicity SEAA	1
STR-Stereotype Racial	1
SUC-"Successful" Defined	1
SUP-Success Probability/Possibility	1
TRE-Traditions & Elders	1

Note: For a complete list of codes and their definitions, refer to Appendix G.

In Table 5.22 the two highest frequencies are the Career Performance Asset (CPA) and AFD codes. The CPA code is the highest (22) followed by the AFD code (17). That is, participants viewed their college peers, designated as the Peer from College (P16) code, to be an asset to their career development as well as a factor in decreasing their anxiety, fear, guilt, pressure, shame, stigma, and stress pertaining to their career development.

Friends More Than Family

For some participants, their friends were more influential in their career development even more than their families. Even if these participants spent the bulk of their interviews reflecting on their parents and family, the intensity in which they valued their friends' opinions over their family's was high.

J. For J, friends were more influential in their career development than their family:

> Although I've been talking for the last half hour about my family, my friends definitely have influenced me more than my family. While my family giving me nuances and implicit biases, it's my friends that I find solace in. They encouraged me to do whatever I want, and they support me along the way. They stay up late studying with me. They help me layout career plans.

J found that their peers in college was helpful to them not only in terms of mental health and well-being but also in their career performance:

> So, I would definitely say that I'm closer with my friends than I am with my family. My friends are very, very supportive. The interactions that I have had with my family are very complicated. I felt isolated from them. I felt like I was the odd one out. The lone wolf in the family. So, I found comfort in my friends.

For J, friends filled a void that their family had created because of the dissonance between them and their families on the topic of career development:

> It helps because I know that whatever praises that I don't get from my family I will get from my friends. And, from it, I feel more than enough satisfaction and happiness. They actually care for me. And, that type of acknowledgement and care helps me with my career path.

J added that they trusted the words of their friends even more than their parents or family members because they felt that their friends aimed for J's happiness:

> My friends see how much fun that I have had and how interested that I have been in psychology and sociology. So, if they are saying something to me through such an intervention, I know that would be coming from a place of truth, and I will try to understand.

For J, their friends' motivations were more genuine than their family's because their family had an ulterior motive. J felt that their friends' interest was in J.

Peers Filled Family Void

For some participants, their friends filled informational and emotional voids that their parents and families could not fill.

ST. ST described how her peers helped her navigate the unwritten curriculum of searching and securing professional employment. It was something that her family, nuclear and extended, did not have because they did not attend college and were not working in professional fields:

> Since they have internships, I ask them how to prepare, especially since I recently came over from Cambodia and my English isn't that great. I asked them how they got their internships. Being friends, they always tried to make me feel better. They would say, "You'll get one. Don't worry. Just try and apply." And, when I did get interviews, I would ask them to interview me. And, they tell me that I have an interesting story.

For ST, her peers had knowledge of an unwritten curriculum of the professional world that neither her family nor her faculty had readily available to share with her.

Victoria. Victoria had a P16 code frequency that was equal to J. Her peers filled the information void in her career development:

> In my sorority, we did a lot of career panels. Since a lot of the girls were trying to into the healthcare field, we met a lot of older Sigmas who already graduated and who came back as alumni to give us career talks.
>
> On the day that I changed wanting from pre-med to pre-nursing, I met Sherry C. She graduated two to three years prior to my arrival at the University, and she was about to complete nursing school. She sat with us and talked about her experiences and what she was doing.

Her peers helped her visualized on how to succeed coming from a traditional, mutigenerational family:

> I was relating to her on a lot of levels. Like me, she had traditional family and she did want to do nursing school at first because, like me, she at first wanted to do medical school. She came back a couple of times to talk on the career panels. So, I met her at different stages: doing clinicals, finishing nursing school, and working for a hospital. I recently saw her. She's actually a nurse! It is an eye opener for me

Victoria found solidarity among those who also had the same struggles as hers, and their achievements provided her with the motivation to succeed:

> Being in a sorority and meeting all these people gave me motivation. I felt that these were the type of people I needed to be hanging out with because they were going to help me become successful. Surrounding myself with successful people gave me motivation to be success.

Her family were not sensitive to the process that she needed in order succeed in the mission that they sent her on to complete for her family and community:

> I didn't have that type support from my family. They don't know what it's like to be there through the process, through the hard and rough times, and through the really good parts. They just want to see the end result. They just want to see me graduate, but they're not there whenever I'm stressed out about exams or whenever I am trying to study or take exams as they're being loud in the living room.

Her peers provided her with the empathetic and emotional support as well know-how to help her career performance:

> My sorority sisters were really there to help. Whenever I met all these Sigmas in my sorority, I felt that they were actually genuine peers that I needed to surround myself with to better my career. They put me in a better headspace. They keep me on track career-wise. So, they can help me out a lot better because my family is not the group of people who I could talk to when it comes to my good and bad times in school because they can't really relate. For sure, I would say that my sorority helped me in choosing my career and my pathway and in who I am today.

Her peers helped provide relief and an escape from the family issues that were barriers to her career performance:

> I feel that joining a sorority helped me escape from my family problems that I was suffering with at home. My sorority put me on the right track in terms of my grades and getting out of academic probation and going on to being a better student. I'm very, very grateful for this experience because my sorority really, really helped me a lot in terms of like career building.

In contrast, Victoria's family were there to remind her about her mission and to enforce mandates:

> On the other hand, my family does not know that I was on academic probation because I would be shunned if they knew that I made a B or anything. It was shunned upon to get B's. They would literally hit me with hangers. My grandma's favorite thing was to hit me with those little wire hangers with the cardboard on them. It was the worst.

Her family were only interested in what and when she would deliver their order:

> During the time that I was on academic probation, my family would just yell at me, "Are you done with school?" or "When is school going to be over?" They were never necessarily there for me.

Her family focused on her being in compliant with what they had expected of her:

> My family was more about telling me what to do, nagging at me. They were daily reminders about what I needed to be doing and how I needed to go hurry up and finish school so I can come back and buy me a house and duh, duh, duh, duh.

Her peers modeled for her the path that was needed to succeed in her career development:

> So, I can generally say that my family did not support me in my time of need like the way my peers did. Sigma—they were there for me. They would study. They would literally come to my house and make me study. They were there for me during the hard times. They would make sure I wake up on time for my exams. They really took action into helping me—more than my family did.

They were like comrades on the frontline of higher education and career pursuits:

> My peers are the one who are there with me every single day. They were the ones who were staying up with me at the library until four in the morning and then walking home with me when we realized that my car got towed and then studying still after we got home because we had a practicum the next morning. I would say that, in terms of family and peers, my peers were definitely there with me 100% throughout my journey. And they really, really gave me more motivation to finish.

She felt that the relationship with her family became transactional. Her success would benefit them:

> And, my family—I am doing it for them so that they could have their reputation; so that they can be satisfied; so that they can be happy. I am doing it because I always want to please my family, regardless of whether my family is not good to me or not.

However, this did not mean that she did not love her family or cared for what they desired:

> Even if they don't understand; if they don't have the right mindset; or if they're still traditional, I still want to make them proud. I still want to make them proud even though they're not really giving me the necessary tools, and they're not very comforting. Throughout the years, I have learned to just accept it as Asian families' tough love.

But, in her attempt to deliver them happiness, her mental health and well-being suffered. And, her peers were there to help her recover:

> I just have to deal with it and find other ways to help myself and give myself motivation to be successful. So, my peers are helping me get my mental state to where it needs to be.

For Victoria, her peers understood her challenges and how to overcome those challenges more than her family comprehended her situation.

Cuab. Cuab explained how the motivation that she received from her peers helped her with her career development in a way that her family could not. Similar to J and Victoria, Cuab spoke of mutual, unconditional care and love that filled the spaces that families could not provide:

> My peers, other than my family, play one of the biggest roles in my life because they're the ones who are able to push me when I'm not able to do something. When I'm not able to talk to my family about something, my peers are there. They're the ones who I can confide in. My peers push me to different heights that my family cannot.

Cuab's turn toward her peers was not because her family were not supportive of her but because she did not want to add additional stress to her mother:

> As the oldest I've grown up never confiding in my parents because I don't want to put pressure on them. So, I confide in my friends, and they're really able to help me out.

Her friends served as empathetic listeners to her relationship with her biological father:

> Growing up, I had a lot of "daddy issues" Since I didn't have my real dad in my life and my mom had been married three times, I went through life with her. And it was really hard.
>
> One of my friends—she really helped me out because she gave me the best type of encouragement. Instead of trying to give me advice—because people wouldn't know what to say because they never experience what I've been through—she was just there to encourage me and understand my side. She would say, "Your dad is like this…. And, I know that you're hurt, but you know that I'm here for you. You know that you don't need him in your life and that he is gonna continue to be like this."

She had another close and long-term friend who helped her with her career performance:

> And, I have my best friend of 9 to 10 years. He's someone who I can just call up and cry to. He doesn't judge me. He just listens. I am able to confide in him. I actually met him in my freshman year of high school when we were in AVID, which is a college readiness course. In college, we both pursued the science field. We were both biology majors. Now, I am biomedical sciences, and he's on the nursing route. We have a lot of common interest. We support each other 100 percent.

Her relationship with her peers were not transactional. They supported her in an unconditional way:

> It's not just a give-and-take relationship, but it is because of the advice, the love, and the care that we have for each other. It is undeniable love: we don't need anything back from each other in the end because we're here because we know we need each other. It is ultimately that. We are going to support each other no matter what.

Her peers were not a replacement for her parents and family but a complement to them:

> So, they're my peers, but I view them as my family too. So, other than my family, I think my friends and my peers played a pivotal role in my success and who I've become.

For Cuab, peers were not a substitute to her family. Instead, they helped complete her team of supporters.

Summary of Peer Influences

While the frequency of the P16 codes do not appear as often as the PAR and FAM codes, peers were significant for the participants when they were present. This was especially true

when the P16 codes co-occurred with the CPA or with the AFD code. While some participants found their peers to be more impactful in their career development, especially in their career-decision making, others did not see their peers to have a more impactful role. However, the later participants found their peers to provide them informational and emotional support that their families could not provide because their parents and families had never attended college or pursued their profession.

"What role (if any) do institutional agents play in your past, present, and career development?"

In this study, the term institutional agents refer to employees of higher education institutions. These individuals may be faculty, administrators, counselors, and advisors that participants encountered during their undergraduate or graduate studies. Table 5.21 below provides the frequency in which institutional agents, coded as Institutional Agents in College (IAC), appear in the interviews. Table 5.22 shows the frequency of the codes that co-occurred with the IAC codes.

Table 5.21

Frequency of Institutional Agents in College (IAC) Code for Each Participant

Participant	Frequency of IAC Code Occurrence
J	7
Avatar	6
Appa	4
Sydney	5
Lida	4
ST	4
Chopper	3
Ling	3
Alex	2
Amber	2
Chaco	2
Dr Pepper	2
Hennessy	2
JC	2
Mulan	2
Victoria	2
Button	1
Cuab	1
Sunshine	1
Ice Bear	0
Total	56

Table 5.22

Frequency of Code Co-Occurrence with IAC Code Across Participants

Code Co-Occurrence	Frequency
CPA-Career Performance Asset	17
CCT-Career Clarity	16
CPC-Career Performance Challenges	14
AFI-Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Increaser	6
IDP-Individual Dreams and Passion	5
AFD-Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress Decreaser	4
CCH-Career Change	4
RSO-Resource Access & Opportunities	4
ECE-Exploration of Careers Enhancer	3
KSL-Knowledge of Networks & Systems	3
MHL-Mental Health Lived Experience & Recognition	3
RAS-Racism Systemic	3
COC-Choice of Careers	2
CRP-Career Persistence	2
IAG-Individual Agency	2
MMM-Model Minority Myth	2
ART-Arts & Liberal Arts Professions	1
CAM-Choice of Academic Major	1
EDS-Expectations Dissonance	1
EOC-Exploration of Careers	1
GDS-Gender Discrimination Systemic	1
IOI-Intersectionality of Identities	1
ITT-Intergenerational Trauma	1
MHY-Mental Health Healthy	1
MIC-Microaggressions	1
P12-Peer from PK-12 Influence	1
SOF-Social Fitting In	1
STR-Stereotype Racial	1
STT-Stereotype Threats	1

Note: For a complete list of codes and their definitions, refer to Appendix G.

Similar to the P16 code, the frequency for the IAC code are few relative to the FAM and PAR codes, and the code that is most frequent in occurrence with the IAC code is CPA code. In other words, participants did not have much to share about their lived experience pertaining to institutional agents, and participants often saw institutional agents as assets toward their career

development, especially when it came to providing participants with clarity for their career choice or change. The code Career Clarity (CCT) identifies instances where participants felt someone provided them with the tools to clarify their career interest or choice. In context of the IAC code, its co-occurrence of the CPA code is 17 times, which is the highest among the co-occurring codes. For CCT's co-occurrence with IAC, CCT appears 16 times, the second highest co-occurrence. In short, this means participants often viewed institutional agents as assets toward their career performance, particularly in helping them with career clarity. However, the third highest co-occurring code is the Career Performance Challenges (CPC) code, which indicates instances when a factor provides challenges to the career performance of a participant. The relationship and frequency among the codes (CPA, CCT, CPC) mean that institutional agents were double-edge swords: on one end, they were an asset; on the other, they were potential challenges to the career development of participants.

Institutional Agents as Liabilities

Some institutional agents presented challenges to the career development of participants. They had negative impacts on participants' career performance.

Appa. Appa, a Cambodian American female, recounted her interaction with the teaching assistant (TA) for her calculus course:

> There were calculus TAs that made me felt so stupid. They would be, "Why don't you know how to do this?" I thought, "That's why I'm here—because I don't know how to do this." When you have someone who is so condescending, it makes you feel more and more hopeless. If I had a TA who was more open to actually helping us and not treat us like, "God, like these stupid undergraduates," I think I could have done a lot better in that class.

For Appa, institutional agents were demotivators.

Avatar. Avatar felt that her relationship with institutional agents from her university did not help her persist. Instead, it was because of her peers that she had continued to enroll at her university:

> I have a love-hate relationship with the University. It was my dream school, but I feel that the University doesn't take care of its students. I want to leave it, but I don't want to leave my friends.

For Avatar, institutional agents were reasons why she would not choose to persist in higher education.

Institutional Agents as Assets

However, institutional agents were also assets for the career development of participants. These assets were often faculty.

Alex. Alex found his professors to be guides in his career development:

> One of the professors that I worked for when I was an undergrad was very influential in terms of me becoming a PhD. He showed me what it means be in academia. For example, he gave me an opportunity to work for him in his lab, which was nice because it exposed me to research.

His professors helped him navigate the academia labyrinth:

> And, it really pushed me to develop scientific ideas and scientifically think and put together results. We applied to conferences and attended conferences, and he was really supportive whenever I was applying for research funding or travel funding. He introduced me to what is conference is, what is research, and how academic papers are written.

For Alex, his professors became mentors.

Button. Button explained how her faculty became mentors for her and inspired her to persist in the teaching profession:

> I plan on keeping in touch with my faculty for a long time. I will keep them updated and send them pictures when I'm in Korea and I have my classroom. When I was in my first year at the University's College of Liberal Arts and was still an international relations student , my professors were nice. But, it was a complete 360 when I transferred into the College of Education.

At first, she was skeptical about their support and intentions to help:

> The faculty were past teachers in elementary schools. Everyone was so nice to me. At that time, I was thinking that they were that way because they didn't want us to be scared of becoming a teacher. I had thought that they were coddling us so much because we were about to enter a hard career; so, they were going to love on us so that we won't leave the program. I was so weirded out at first because I felt that there was no way that professors from such a huge university can really care about you.

Her professors eventually became her mentors, and she realized that they were providing her with an incubator for become a professional teacher:

> A lot of them have become big mentors for me. They showed me what I want to aspire to be. I keep in touch with a lot of them on Facebook, and they always keep in contact with me.

For Button, her professors provided her with comfort as she entered the teaching profession.

Cuab. Similar to Button, Cuab had a faculty who helped her build the confidence to pursue her field of study and career:

> My biology professor who I had the last year of undergrad really helped me with finding which path I wanted to take in the biology field. I really had an interest in biology, but I struggled a lot in figuring it out.

That faculty helped her with her career performance by understanding her family issues:

> Because of family and my health issues, I was really pushed back in deciding the path I wanted to take. And, he reminded me that I am able to do it and to have confidence in myself. I was very thankful for him, and I do keep in touch with him 'till today.

And, he helped Cuab pursue graduate school:

> He really did push me to succeed and to have confidence in myself. Even though I didn't have the best grades and didn't have the best experience, I was able to push forward and continue my education and my route in the biology field and into anything that I aspire to be.

For Cuab, her faculty also served as an informal counselor to help her persist and achieve in higher education and her career development.

Lida. Lida had a faculty from her master's program that helped her navigate the unwritten curriculum of negotiating with her doctoral program for educational leadership.

> When I was accepted into my doctoral program, the University was going to give me just enough money to take two courses a semester and to be a graduate research assistant, which was an unpaid position. I thought to myself, "This doesn't sound like a great offer letter." Thankfully, I had Dr. H from the University helped me navigate my offer and acceptance letters. After I forwarded that offer letter to him, he confirmed, "Yeah, this is not a good offer letter. They can give you so much more. You can have how much you because you can contribute a lot to the institution."

Her faculty took concrete actions to help her secure funding for her doctoral program:

> We got on a three-way call with me him and my future advisor. He was hyping me up. I needed to be full time graduate student, but they were only paying me six hours. And, I was going to be doing research by building community work. Dr. H asked them, "How do you expect Lida to live in Fort Worth if you are going to give her this much amount of money to do her program?" I was I shocked.

That faculty demonstrated how she could effectively advocate for herself:

> The next day, they sent me an offer letter that said that I would be fully funded. Dr. H really played a big contribution to that letter because I didn't think someone was going to advocate for me like that—the way that he advocated for me, which is how I need to advocate for myself.

As a result, she hoped that she could one day help another student advocate for their career development:

> He told me that he did that for me because someone did that for him during his PhD journey. So, this is what I want to do for other people: I want to advocate for them to help them navigate offer letters and to navigate higher education because I really got a sweet deal. Thank you, Dr. H!

For Lida, her faculty modeled for her how to succeed in her capacity as a student and as a future higher education professional.

Sunshine. Sunshine explained that his student organization advisor was key in helping him unpack and understand this thinking and feeling regarding racial inequality and the Black Lives Matter (BLM) Movement:

> My advisor has really helped me learn about the world because I'm sheltered and do not know much about the world. He has always been there to help me through it. He helped me open my eyes to the world.
>
> I support Black Lives Movement but I was also thinking about all of my police officer friends. There are bad police officers, but not all police officers are bad. I told my advisor that I do support Black Lives Matter Movement—that is important to me—but I can't group all police officers as bad police officers. I said to him, "Oh My God, what am I? Where do I actually stand?"

His advisor helped him think through social justice issues and explored his personal positionality:

> He really helped me walked through and talked through that with me. He helped me understand that, career-wise, I maybe have had privilege.
>
> For example, I recently learned about the whole light green card thing. One of my friends moved here when she was five, and she always had a green card. So, one semester, she was, "I have to go back home to take my citizenship test." I told her, "You're not a citizen. I am confused. What happened?" She replied, "Yeah, I have a green card. I have to get my citizenship." At that moment, my world was expanding. Since most of my friends in high school were White, they had citizenship. And, since I was born here, I have never had to deal with American citizenship.

Among the participants, Sunshine's relationship with his advisor was unique. His university had a Southeast Asian American advisor who advised student organization leaders. Sunshine pointed out that he benefited from his institution provided such an agent.

Summary of Institutional Agent Influences

While some participants actively engaged with institutional agents, others engage with them only when they felt that they had no other resources to turn to for help. Among the institutional agents, faculty had the most positive impact on participants' career development, especially in the role of being mentors.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I used data from all 20 participants to present the findings for this study's first research question: How do Southeast Asian American college students perceive the role (if any) *parents*, *family* (e.g., siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents), *peers* (e.g., friends, classmates, peers), and *institutional agents* (e.g., administrators, faculty, staff) play in their career development? Toward this end, I offered the themes or codes that came from the interview scripts. I presented findings in four sections: (1) parents, (2) family, (3) peers, and (4) institutional agents.

Figure 5.10 below provides a summary of the code frequency for the four factors that Research Question 1 inquires:

Figure 5.10 P16, PAR, IAC, and FAM Code Frequencies

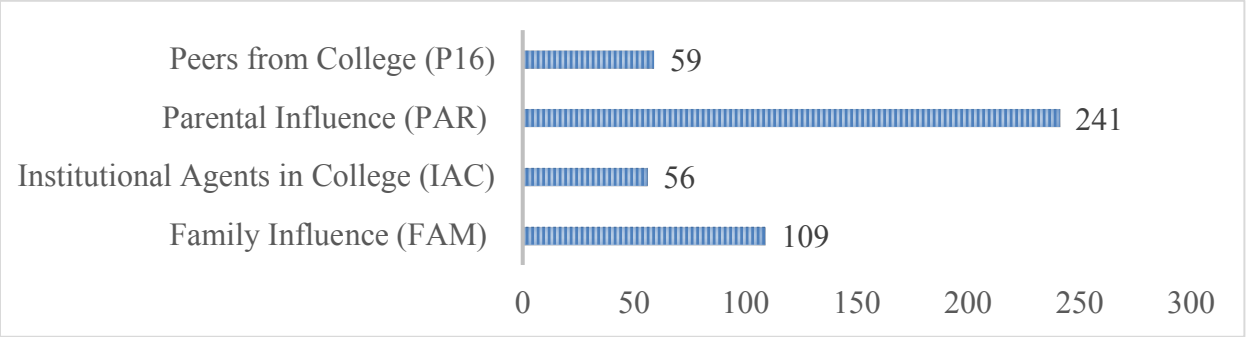


Figure 5.10 reiterates that parental influence is the most frequent experience in the lives of the participants.

Figure 5.11 below illustrates a summary of the highest code frequency that co-occurred with the P16, PAR, IAC, and FAM codes that the Research Question 1 inquires:

Figure 5.11

P16, PAR, IAC, and FAM Code Frequencies and Their Most Frequent Code Co-Occurrences

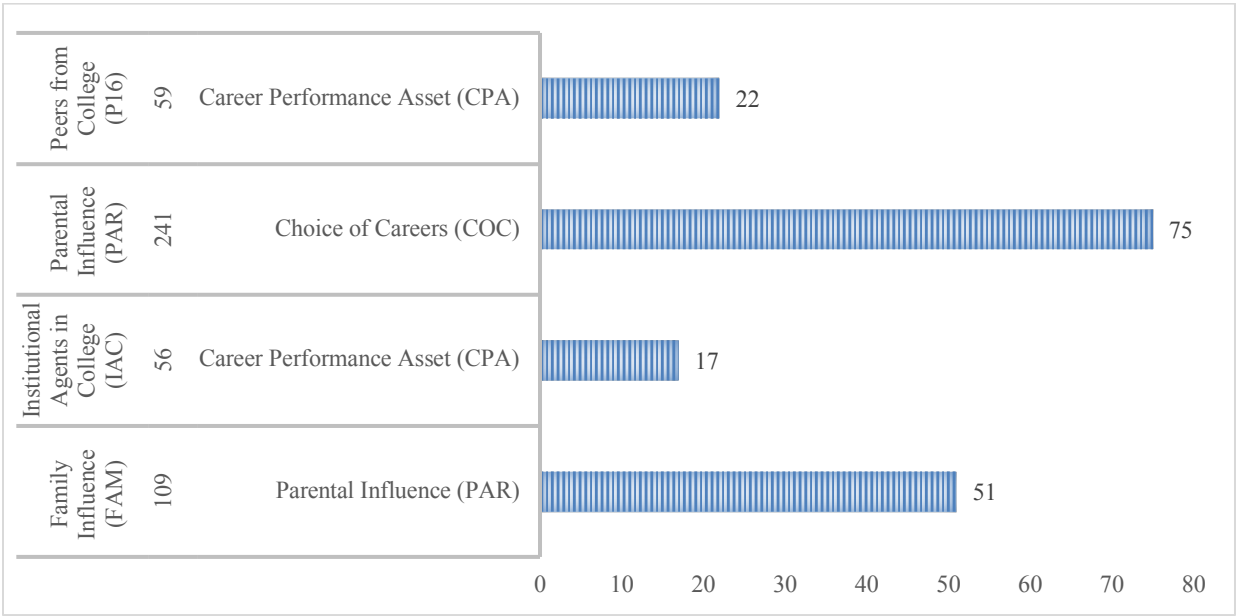


Figure 5.11 illustrates that career choice is the most frequent topic that parental influence brings into the career development of participants. Underneath these occurrences, the line between parental influence and familial influence became blurred, with parents and family members, specifically grandparents combining to steer participants toward STEM field of studies and careers. Parents and families pushed participants toward choosing such career fields because of their love for participants, and participants reciprocated because of their love for their parents and family. Often, the refugee and immigrant resettlement stories that participants had internalized from their loved ones served as motivation to help participants persist and succeed regardless of whether participants' career interests and choices were in consonant or dissonant with their parents and families. The parent-family combination often increased participants' anxiety and stress level, leading to negative or positive results on their career performance.

When the effects were negative, participants often turned to their peers for solace and for solutions. Often, the solutions related to succeeding at studying or at networking and interviewing for career opportunities. Although participants spent a high amount of time discussing parental and familial influences, the impact in which their peers played in them succeeding in their field of study and career field were consequential. That is, peers were an important asset in their career performance.

Beyond parents, family, and peers, institutional agents, especially faculty and advisors, had a role in participants' career development. However, this interaction was not as frequent. And, more often than not, participants did not perceive the interactions to be influential in their career development. And, when the engagements were impactful, they were often in the area of clarifying participants' career interest or choice.

Chapter 6: Analysis & Findings—Research Question 2

In Chapter 5, I analyzed the data and findings for the first research question, which inquired about the impact that parents, families, peers, and institutional agents may have had on the career development of Southeast Asian American college students. In Chapter 6, I will present the data analysis and findings for the second research question: How do Southeast Asian American college students perceive the role (if any) that *racial stereotypes*, particularly the *model minority myth*, play in their career development? I will present the findings in four parts:

(1) Participants who were conscious of systemic racism and racial or ethnic stereotypes and who did not believe that the model minority myth (MMM) negatively impacted their career development (CD) but believed that the MMM negatively impacted the CD of non-Asian people of color. I will refer to these participants as "MMM Category I: Racism Conscious, MMM Conscious, No Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, Negative Effect on CD of People of Color ."

(2) Participants who were aware of systemic racism and racial or ethnic stereotypes and who believed that the MMM negatively impacted their CD as well as the CD of non-Asian people of color. I will refer to these participants as "MMM Category II: Racism Conscious, MMM Conscious, Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, Negative Effect People of Color."

(3) Participants who were aware of systemic racism and racial or ethnic stereotypes and who did believe that the MMM negatively impacted their CD but were not aware or did not mention whether the MMM had an impact on non-Asian people of color. I will refer to these participants as "MMM Category III: Racism Conscious, No MMM Conscious, No Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, No Negative Effects on People of Color."

(4) Participants who had little to no awareness of systemic racism and racial or ethnic stereotypes and who did not believe that the MMM negatively their CD and who CD but were not aware or did not mention whether the MMM had an impact on non-Asian people of color. I will refer to these participants as "MMM Category IV: Not Racism Conscious, Not MMM Conscious, No Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, No Negative Effects on CD of People of Color."

Table 6.10 displays where they tend to fall in the categories.

Table 6.10

MMM Categories for Participants

Category I	Category II	Category III	Category IV
Alex	Appa	Amber	Button
	Avatar	Dr Pepper	Chaco
	Chopper	Hennessey	Cuab
	Ice Bear	J	JC
	Lida	Ling	ST
	Sydney	Mulan	Sunshine
		Victoria	

Category I = Racism Conscious, MMM Conscious, No Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, Negative Effect on CD of People of Color
Category II = Racism Conscious, MMM Conscious, Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, Negative Effect People of Color
Category III = Racism Conscious, No MMM Conscious, No Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, No Negative Effects on People of Color
Category IV = Not Racism Conscious, Not MMM Conscious, No Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, No Negative Effects on CD of People of Color

Category I = Racism Conscious, MMM Conscious, No Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, Negative Effect on CD of People of Color

Some participants were conscious of systemic racism and racial and ethnic stereotypes but did not consider the MMM to impact their career development in a negative way. Instead, they saw that the MMM had negative effects on the career development of other people of color, especially Black Americans.

Alex

Alex was not aware of racial stereotypes or racism until college. Prior to high school, Alex grew up Twin Cities in Minnesota where he lived among a diversity of races and saw poverty as the norm for all racial categories:

> What I remembered vividly was that the majority of people who attended that school them were super poor. Whether you were Black, Mexican , White, or Asian, we were all super poor and on free or reduced lunch. So, I don't think that there was a culture of saying, "Well, he's Asian—he is expected be good."

In high school, he attended a high school that was predominantly White Americans, and he was not conscious of the model minority myth. He was more conscious of being a minority:

> When I was in high school in Arkansas, I wasn't thinking about the model minority myth because I didn't really feel like the model minority. I just felt like the minority. There weren't a lot of minorities, just a few Black kids. I think my high school was over 90% Whites. So, growing up, I didn't really feel like a model minority but more like a minority in general.

His first awareness of racial stereotypes and racism was when he witnessed the make-up of his college cohorts:

> When I was in college and in graduate school, I was more in tune with the type of forces that were working behind the background that I wasn't aware of before. At the Undergraduate University, it was predominantly White. There was just one Black student in my department cohort.

He did not view racial stereotypes, particularly MMM, to have adversely affected his career development. On the contrary, he saw that the MMM helped him blend into STEM fields:

> I don't think that the model minority thing affected me personally, but I see how it could have affected him. It must have been really tough to be the only Black person in the classroom of 100 students with the vast majority of the students being White and with the next largest group being Asians.

He realized that the MMM privileged him with a sense of belong:

> Being the only Black guy, I think he may have had a higher level of realization. When people looked at me, they were not surprised that I was in the class. If anything, the model minority myth gave me a sense that I was supposed to be here. At least it can be perceived that I was supposed to be here.

And, he felt that the MMM must have given his Black classmate a false sense of being out of place:

> But, when people looked at him, they were a little bit surprised because he stood out as the only black guy in class. Whereas for somebody like him, he did not necessarily benefit from it. In that university, only 4% of the students were Black. So, not only was he the only black student in our department, but he probably didn't have a very strong sense of community at the University in general.
>
> Hindsight is 20-20 because, thinking back, I could have been more welcoming or at least talked to him and see how you felt about it.

He saw that the MMM gave him a perceived sense of community and belonging in STEM fields.

He felt that there was career consonance between him and the White American majority:

> I would say that, being an Asian, I don't have to deal with people making a big fuss about me being here because I am like Southeast Asian. In general, there are a lot of Southeast Asians who are in STEM. So, for me to be here, it does not very much shock people. In general, people expect somebody who looks like me to be in STEM in general.

As a result, he was not aware of the MMM having a negative impact on his career development:

> I don't get a lot of negative influences from the model minority myth. If anything, it has probably made the environment a little more welcoming for people who look like me just because there is a tradition, a history of people who look like me who operate within STEM and within medical sciences in general. So, people aren't surprised that I'm here, which, I guess, is a good thing for me.

Instead, he saw the MMM as having a negative impact other people of color:

> I can't pinpoint a time in which the model minority myth hurt me directly or that it affected me adversely. For the past four or five years, I have been thinking about this model minority myth concept, and I think that a lot of it is used as a weapon towards other minorities, such as people come from Mexico or Black people.

He felt that the MMM was a tool that the White American majority used against other people of color:

> I think that a lot of us are used to say, "These guys are doing great for themselves. They came here in America and X, Y, Z. The average Asian male gets paid X number of dollars which is comparable to the average white male, etcetera, etcetera." So, I think it is used as a weapon to hurt other minorities, but for me, myself, I don't feel like I was affected personally…yet…, but I know that may change. Who knows?

He felt that one of the ways that the White American majority weaponized the MMM was to signal to Black Americans that they did not belong in higher education, particularly in STEM fields of study:

> But I can see how other people who don't benefit from this myth, how it could be problematic, or how it could make you feel that you are the only person who looks like you in a department. It is something that I have never had to worry about; but, I could see how it could negatively affect me if I was the only person who looks like me in my department. Maybe the myth does affect negatively affects me but I just don't realize it.

He blamed the ineptitude of institutional agents for perpetuating the MMM and racial inequality in higher education:

> Not only in biomedical engineering but also in other PhD programs, I think that there's a large like under representation of Blacks and Hispanic people in general. I definitely have seen how the system as affected them negatively. I think that a lot of people, whether they be professors or administration, just have no idea how to help Black students succeed.

He shared a story on how the system maintained by White American majority worked against one of his Black American friends. He described the system:

> I have a friend who is doing her PhD in astronomy at the University; and to be fair, she came a little bit under prepared. But, I think the first couple of years, it is really hard to get to a place where she could be an effective astronomy researcher. And, I think she showed a lot of growth during those two years.
>
> In her program, and they'll do a preliminary exam in their second year, and she passed that. But, they still like disallowed her to pursue or to continue through the PhD pipeline. She passed that milestone, but they forced her to get her master's. That part didn't make sense to me because I thought that the purpose of a preliminary analysis was to see whether you can move on to the next step.
>
> If she didn't pass this mile stone, that would make sense, but, they forced her to master out; and that's what she did. So, now she is at State University getting her PhD.

He pointed out that there was no structure in place to help her succeed. That structure included the absence of a sense of belong, a mentor who could relate to her student experience, and an advocate who could tell her story:

> So, stuff like that is part of the model minority myth. It didn't help her any because she didn't have people who would looked like her and who have a tradition of being successful in that department. But, in my department, there is a tradition of people who look like me who have been successful in astronomy or biomedical sciences. So, that definitely had a lot to do with it. I also think that it is because a lot of professors in her department have not dealt with a lot of Black students, and I think it was definitely something that they weren't ready to do.

He felt that institutional agents wanted the benefit of appearing as welcoming to students of color but did not want to put in the resources to help students of color succeed:

> I don't want to accuse them of anything, but I they had accepted a larger number of Black PhD students that year largely to make themselves look better on paper. It showed that they had a more diverse student population, but they didn't have any sort of support system or ways that they were going to help their students of color succeed.

He felt that many students of color came from backgrounds similar to his background when he lived in Minnesota and that higher educational institutions have been ill-prepared for helping such students succeed:

> Students have different needs because, much like me, if you're a student of color, there's a good chance that you're probably from a poor background and you're probably from an area in which education wasn't so good. So, at times, there are people who probably aren't as prepared as other people to be part of a department or graduate or PhD program. And, if you're going to accept students, you have an obligation to help them succeed as opposed to giving up on them.

Although Alex sensed that the model minority stereotype did not hurt him in his specific career development, he viewed the racial stereotype as hurting Asian Americans in general:

> I think one of the biggest issues I have with the model minority myth is that it is not a moniker that we chose for ourselves. It's something that White people chose for us. I do think that it ultimately hurts us more than it helps us. It doesn't help us any to be called a model minority. But, it is used as a weapon to hurt other minorities, and it sucks because it's not something that we created, but it's something that we are associated with.

Alex was mindful of systemic racism and its effect on people of color but felt that he was immune from its effect on his career development.

MMM & aggregated Asian American data. Although Alex was not conscious of the MMM being a negative contributor to his career development, he was mindful of the systemic racism that he predicts will be a future barrier for him and his colleagues of color in the field of academia:

> In American, I think that there are some disparities in terms of research funding in academia. In my field, we have this award mechanism called Research Project Grant (R01), which is a huge grant. Universities love to have their professors get this because it brings in a bunch of money to the university. And, it is very desired and very important because professors who do get it will almost for sure get tenure and become very successful.

He saw that awards for research funding statistically favored White American males:

> The vast majority of competitive and larger awards go to White males, which is what I saw in a study on National Institute of Health (NIH) awards. According to this study, older White men have the best percentage of getting a large piece of the pie that gets awarded to professors. Statistically speaking, I have less of a chance getting it than someone who is White and male. And, people of color and women have a harder time getting this grant. And, young people in general have a hard time getting this grant. The median age is 40, which is just insane.

He felt that the selection system was bias by design:

> I imagine that a lot of other funding mechanisms. So, I do foresee that as a barrier in my future career development. The way that funding works in this country is that people who have a previous record of funding are generally in a better position to receive future funding. But, the issue is that the people who have previous records of funding are usually established investigators who—and most STEM departments are—are White males. And, it is not by accident, but very much by design, that people who get funding are older White males.

For him, even if the MMM worked in his favor, it continued to otherize him and perpetually made his secondary to White American males:

> If you look at the history of this country, the least oppressed, objectively, would be White males in this country. Everybody else's has always been a second-class citizen compared to the White male. Being Asian American, we're are dealing with the backlash of that.
>
> Yes, there is they myth that we're the model minority; but we will always be viewed as a minority in this country and always be viewed as foreigners.

For Alex, the MMM was harmful to his career not because it stereotyped him as a STEM person but because it represented him as being in a racial category that was overrepresented:

> And, although there are people who look like me who are successful in STEM, I would say the people who are the most successful don't look like me. And, to a large degree, I think that does hurt us.

As a result, he felt that the system continued to favor White American males:

> So, it's definitely not by chance that White males get a larger piece of the pie. If anything, it is because white males tend to make up the vast majority of the faculty members in most engineering departments and science-related departments that is the issue.

Alex recognized that higher education institutions have had initiatives to increase the diversity in their department, but pointed that their efforts do not include him as part of the "diversity" definition, which he believed would affect his educational and research funding and eventual employment:

> There are a lot of new initiatives to get diversity into those positions and it is going to help a lot whether it is gender diversity or racial or ethnic diversity.

He attributed the exclusion to diversity initiatives defining diversity as just racial and does not include ethnic diversity. From his experience, diversity initiatives aggregated his ethnicity into an almost meaningless, larger racial Asian American category:

> But, my situation is tricky. I've had professors explained it to me. Professors who had recommended me to apply for a particular fellowship or grant have tried to help me get minority fellowships, and what they said to me was that my situation was tricky: racially, I not a minority because I am racially get grouped with Asian and Pacific Islanders. I think one out of four people in this world qualifying for that category. It's a very broad category that I think people should break up in the future.

Thus, the MMM lumped SEAA into one broad stereotype, and the lumping of SEAA into under one massive AA umbrella does to display the reality that SEAA are underrepresented in academia:

> They said that it's weird because I do fall in that Asian American category that's not underrepresented; but, Hmong American is an ethnic group. In fact, there's a group online that determines whether or not people are considered "underrepresented minorities," and they consider Hmong American people to me an underrepresented minority. That's an official statement by one of their subcommittees. I don't know who granted them the power to do that, but they had determined that Hmong Americans are one of the peoples who are underrepresented.

Although Alex appreciated that his professors understood his dilemma, he acknowledged that they could guide him through the system because they have not had lived experience of being someone who is considered to be in an underrepresented ethnic category but who is not in an underrepresented racial category, which is what he has seen diversity initiatives to be in American academia:

> So, the professors said, "It's tricky because you are from an underrepresented ethnic group, but you're not from an underrepresented racial group." They definitely recognize the downside and the areas that need improvement. They're starting to see that things are not so cut and dry.

With the combination of SEAA being invisible and being underrepresented in academia, Alex felt alone and isolated like the single Black American student who was in one of his cohorts. There was not a community for him to turn to for guidance and solidarity:

> But, I have not talked to any of the professors about this because, again, we don't have a lot of the people who are professors. My professors are White males, which is the norm. So, it's hard for me to ask him, "How do I navigate the racial and ethnic powers at play?" when they never experienced that. It's tough. I don't really have a lot of people to ask because a lot of our professors are White; or, if they are Asian, they are from Japan, Korea, or China.

Since Alex could not turn to his professors to help him with his unique situation in academia, he hoped that he could turn to other Southeast Asian Americans who may have similar lived experiences, but he realized that he will have to rely on his self-determination:

> To navigate the system in academia, I think I will have to go back to my cousins and my siblings who are also the first-generation of Hmong Americans who have gone to college and who have gone through this uncharted territory as Hmong Americans.
>
> But, I would have to expand that circle a little bit. I know there have been successful Southeast Asian American people, such as Vietnamese scientists and Thai scientists. I think those are people who I can look towards for help, but I don't know any of them personally. I've have never met any of them in person.

Ultimately, Alex felt that success would have to depend on self-reliance:

> But, a lot of it is going to have to be self-resilience. I don't perceive myself getting a lot of help with navigating these barriers from anyone. I think a lot of it will have to be me figuring out by myself; learning as I go; and, hopefully, serving as that sort of help for whatever comes next.

What was important for Alex was that he was mindful of institutionalized racism even though he felt that the MMM did not negatively affect him in STEM:

> At least I'm aware of the things that are out of my control and the predisposition that I may have been placed into whether it be because of my race or ethnicity. At a basic level, I am aware of how the system works and what the system values. So, the question is "Do I want to conform to what the system wants" or "Do I want to somehow maneuver my way into getting what I want without having to sacrifice my authenticity?". But, the question is also "Who am I?" and "What is my moral code?"

While Alex did not feel that the MMM affected his career negatively, he saw that it justified the way policymakers and decisionmakers aggregated AA data. This aggregation lumped him into a large racial category and dismissed his ethnicity.

Category II = Racism Conscious, MMM Conscious, Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, Negative Effect People of Color

Some participants were aware of systemic racism and racial or ethnic stereotypes and believed that the MMM negatively affected their career development as well as the career development of other people of color.

Appa

Appa felt that the MMM discouraged her from seeking and others providing her with assistance during her undergraduate years.

> Another career development influence in my life has been the model minority myth. It makes me feel like I'm expected to be successful. I'm expected to be well off when I'm older. With the model minority myth, Asians are expected to be smart; expected to not struggle; expected to figure things out on our own without having to ask people for help.

The MMM made her felt like an imposter for seeking support:

> The model minority myth stereotypes that Asians are really smart and really hard working, and I was self-conscious because I didn't want the Teaching Assistants to think that my not understanding the concepts meant that I was lazy. I was so focused on making sure they knew that I wasn't lazy, which goes completely against what we're 'supposed' to represent.
>
> We're 'supposed' to be hard working; we're supposed to get things and understand things on our own—without needing help. We're supposed to come off as a certain way, and I did not want people to say, "Wow, she's Asian, she supposed to like be really smart. I'm surprised that she's struggling" or "Wow, she didn't even finish her homework yet. She must be really lazy."

The MMM sought to define Asians, and she felt dissonance between herself and the racial stereotype:

> I felt self-conscious that I was going to exude qualities that we're not supposed to exude. That's the kind of things that feeds into my self-consciousness with asking for help. I don't want people to think that I don't have my myself together, which is something that I think we're expected to do because of that myth.

In addition, Appa, explained that her lived experience with the MMM is unique as a Southeast Asian American as compared to her East Asian counterparts.

> I think being Southeast Asian also had an effect on the amount of self-consciousness because my calculus professor and teaching assistant were both Asians. There is a very existing prejudice amongst Asians specifically targeted towards Southeast Asians.

She first encountered this difference when she was growing up in South Korea:

> This was something that I experienced when I was living in Korea. A lot of people looked down on Southeast Asians. For example, a lot of Southeast Asians in Korea were low-income workers. They had come to Korea to work either as maids or even sometimes as sex workers. So, a lot of Southeast Asians were just looked down upon by Koreans for a multitude of reasons. I remember a very specific moment where some Koreans were being judgmental towards me until they heard me spoke fluent English with an American accent. Then, suddenly they were intrigued with me right because I had set myself apart from the rest of the Southeast Asians that they had had in their heads.

She felt that she experienced the MMM differently from South Asians and East Asians in the U.S.:

> So, I feel that Southeast Asians have a lot of struggles that East Asians might not have. Part of me wonders whether the fact that my teaching assistant and my professor were both Chinese made me didn't want to further amplify the sort of negative connotations against Southeast Asians. I didn't want them to tie the fact that I was doing poorly in this class with the fact that I'm Southeast Asian. I didn't want them to think that I was less capable because I was Southeast Asian.

On one level, the MMM affected her consciousness about her abilities. On another level, it affected the way she saw herself physically and professionally.

> In America, people use stereotypes to people associate with different types of Asians. People link of Vietnamese people with nail shops. When they think of Cambodian people, they think of donut shops. And that's very different from what they think about Korean people; they think of like K-Pop models. When they think of Chinese, they think of doctors and professors. Those are very different stereotypes—very different levels of what they expect or what they associate with specific Asian ethnicities.

She saw that the difference was also visible in Cambodia against Cambodians:

> Even when you go to Cambodia, how people see you depends a lot on how you look. So, if you look more Chinese, they think you're beautiful. They think you're really wealthy. They think you're going to be really successful. Whereas, if you're darker like me and your nose is like flatter like mine, they think, "Oh, she's just going be a farmer, or something like that". So, I think this level of distinction and prejudice against a certain type of Southeast Asian, or just Southeast Asians in general, transfers from Asia to here. It might be something that we keep encouraging too. For instance, when I met up with one of my Malaysian, she told me she read this article about where they described Southeast Asians as "Jungle Asians". Jungle Asians—what a horrible term to use like. That's awful! Sometimes, I wonder if it makes me feel more sensitive to wanting to fulfill these Asian stereotypes because I want to prove them wrong, because I want to be, "I am Asian. I am that."

Furthermore, Appa explained that that the MMM excused institutions from providing assistance to people like her and had these expectations without understanding the context and history of SEAA:

> With the model minority myth, I'm expected to know everything and be able to conquer things on my own without needing the assistance of others. Overcoming the model minority myth was something that I was working on throughout college, and I think I'm way better off now than I was when I started college.
>
> At this time, I think that I've gotten to a point where I rejected so much of that whole model minority myth that it's not really taking any influence in my career. It definitely had such a huge part in the past; but, I think that it doesn't really have much of an influence on what I'm doing in the present. I don't see myself as having to fulfill these roles because of that myth but more as wanting to fulfill this role because of myself.

She expected the MMM to continue into her career development past her schooling:

> Yet, part of me wonders what would happen if I were to ever have like a slip up as a physician. Physicians are supposed to be a certain level like have a certain level of competency and also be like very hard working. If I slip up, are they going to think say that it is because "she's human and she's you make mistakes" or are they going to be, "Oh, I'm surprised that she slipped up. She's Asian". So, I think that's how it might factor into my future career.

Appa saw that racial and ethnic stereotypes, specifically the MMM, was not only detrimental to the career development and health of people under the Asian American umbrella but also to the career development and health of other non-Asian American people of color, especially Black Americans. She expressed concern that the harmful and false narrative of the MMM is prevalent in non-Asian American as well Asian American and communities:

> And I am concern that there's a lot of things going on in the world right now like Black Lives Matters and civil rights issues. One of the problems that have been coming up is racism and healthcare; and, so I think Asians haven't had the best reputation with racism. There's essentially a lot of talk about racism against Black people from the Asian community.

She based her observation on her lived experience of growing up among Asian communities:

> Growing up, I definitely have heard a lot of negative things about Black from the Cambodians and Filipinos and even from the Korean communities in Korea that I lived. There were a lot of negative things that I'd heard about Black people. There were a lot of the stereotypes that have endured like, “Oh, they're lazy”; “But, look at us, we're successful because we're hard working. The only reason why they're not successful is because they're lazy”; or, “I don't want you to marry a black person”. That sort of conversation was really common. And so that's kind of what helped me come to the conclusion that there is a lot of bias and prejudice against Black people in the Asian community.

She saw the MMM as creating a false narrative for Asian American as well as Black American communities:

> I think a lot of it has to do with that model minority myth where we're told these things from the get-go. So, when you're being told, “Oh, the only reason why Black people aren't as successful as us, is because they're lazy”. That’s something that you keep building into your perspective. For example, if you're being told a lot, “The only reason why we have these Asians going into gangs is because they had Black friends that influenced them” and from a system perspective you are being told that “you're ‘the model minority’” and that “you're different than them because you're hard working; and that's the only reason why you are more successful than them,” it becomes a reinforcement. Yet, you are not being aware of the other factors, such as the resources that you're given by society.

And, she saw that the White American communities as promoting and reinforcing the myth of the model minority:

> I think that this stereotype is also prevalent outside of the Asian community. The people outside of the Asian community that I am picturing reinforcing these stereotypes are Whites, mainly because of just how our government looks right now—it’s predominantly White. I think both the Black stereotype and the Asian model minority myth are heavily reinforced by White people power. Within our country, for instance, I think that this stereotype is very common.

She saw that White Americans were the ones in power and have amplified the MMM:

> For instance, Asian people are being told by the government and by influential persons (maybe authority figures such as elders in the community or authority figures) and politicians that "You, as an Asian, you are my 'model minority'. Black people are lazy, do drugs, and are part of gangs". I think when you have influential voices telling you these two thoughts—you're the model minority; Black people are thieves and criminals, you keep telling that to other people in your Asian community. Then, you teach it on to younger people. I think that's how that sort of thinking is generated because it's you being told by someone higher than you—someone in a more influential role than you—and the country that you're living in is telling you these thoughts: "We're the model; they're the thieves, the criminals; don't marry Black people."

She attributed some Asian American's confusion with the Black Lives Matter on believing in the false narrative that the MMM painted:

> Given what's going on now with the Black Lives Matter movement, I do see a lot of Asian people in across all ages—older people or even people my age—claiming that that sort of like racism and systemic racism don't exist. I, personally, I disagree with that. And, I do witness that sort of stuff being said quite often by Asian people, even in healthcare. Some people are saying it doesn't exist, even though the numbers kind of prove otherwise. Specifically, I do get worried that Black patients won't feel that they could trust me because I'm an Asian physician. And, they I might think that I have an inherent bias because I am Asian. So, that's one of my main concerns in terms of interacting with patients as a future physician.

Appa experienced racial stereotypes and the MMM both in the U.S. and outside of it. She felt that it affected her career development as well as her life and the lives of people of color.

Ice Bear. Similar to Appa, Ice Bear viewed that racial stereotypes were barriers in her career development because she had to conform to racial expectations:

> Most people in the industry, expect Asian people are expected to know classical music and play classical instruments. So, when it comes to an Asian person in modern music pop, they expect most Asians to come from a classical background. They do not expect me to able to play genre that aren't classical or pop.

The expectations made her choose between her authentic self and her livelihood:

> The way that that expectation affects my career development is that I'm always trying to change my music, my tone, be marketable to them. For example, generally, what I write for music is kind of slow and sad. I write about my experience or how I'm feeling mental health-wise because I'm really able to talk to my parents about that.

Prior to college, the myth of the model minority provided her a sense of direction. And, she worked to align herself with the racial stereotype:

> If you grow up in a district with just minorities in it, you will run into the model minority myth. I had almost no White people in my school district. Growing up in a mostly Hispanic and mostly Black school district, I got labeled with the Asian stereotype: "You're supposed to be doing well" or "You're the smart one." So, I felt like I had to meet those expectations.

She saw that the MMM created a bias that was advantageous for Asian American students. It artificially inflated her sense of self-worth. It was a bias that her faculty reinforced:

> There was an expectation of Asian people being good. The teachers at school would say, "Ya'll do good." It's weird, like. Sometimes, I felt that those teachers somehow felt that the other kids weren't going anywhere. But, I think that feeling changed whenever those teachers were talking Asian students. They were, "They're smart. They probably like the smartest in the school." And, so those biases from the teachers kind of made me a little hot-headed.

Ice Bear felt that elders in her ethnic community had embraced the MMM and expected her to conform it as well. They had expected to act a certain way, such as choosing a career that reflected the expectations of the MMM:

> Every time I see older people and they start talking to me about career development. It always gets to the topic of, "You should be in the medical field. Why aren't you doing that?" It just feels like doctor, lawyer, engineer are the only careers that people talk about.

She felt that the authorities in the community were telling her that she was doing something that was morally wrong because she was not interested in a career in STEM:

> I feel guilty for doing stuff that isn't what everyone wants me to be. But, I've learned in life that I should do what I like—do what makes happy.

Furthermore, she felt that the MMM was a social pressure that told her that she should not be critical about social injustice and racial inequality:

> I feel like I think about the model minority myth a lot, especially when it comes to career development expectations. The model minority myth says, "The model minority is more successful and doesn't really cause any trouble."

Her father reinforced the MMM. His belief in the virtues of the MMM became apparent to her in their discussion regarding the Black Lives Matter Movement:

> I think my dad is a full supporter of the model minority myth. I talked with him a lot about the Black Lives Matter Movement and what it's for; but, it's hard for me to explain to him while trying to understand his perspective towards it.

Her father saw that Asian Americans were the model for Black Americans to emulate, and he blamed Black Americans for social, economic, and racial inequality:

> We had a talk about George Floyd. The way he explained it was "the wrong people in the wrong time. George Floyd acted the way he acted because of he kept thinking about slavery and that was passed on him. Instead of letting go of the idea slavery, she should just be the person you want to be."

Her father embraced the racial hierarchy with Asian Americans being above Black Americans:

> And, so his solution to Black Lives Matter is that Black people should just try their hardest to get to the top first. And, once they get to the top, then that's when things will start to change for them. That's the kind of the idea that he had. He thought that as long as Black people were like Asian people and just work hard to get to the top, then everything will kind of fall in line for them. I think was trying to compare it to himself as a refugee.

Her father saw the effects of slavery in the U.S. as similar to the effects of his refugee experience. Overcoming both required a change in individual mindset and not a change in the systemic factors:

> He compared it to his time in the refugee camp with slavery. He was saying, "Yeah, I let that go. So Black people can let slavery go just like I did."
>
> And, so that was his mentality: "if you work hard, you will get somewhere." That is the model minority myth mentality. So, he was basically saying, "If Blacks would follow the model—model minority mentality—Blacks wouldn't have to worry about being treated this way."

As result, her father felt that BLM was unjustified. In his mind, Black Americans simply had to follow the blueprint for the model minority:

> For him, it was, "Because look at us. We are the model minority, we're doing these things. Therefore, these things don't happen to us." And, he thought that whenever things do happen to us, we're not as loud as Black Lives Matter. And, so he asked, "Why is that—Black Lives Matter—a thing?"
>
> So, he was basically saying, "If Black people choose to be a model minority, and part of that choice is letting go of slavery, then things like George Floyd wouldn't happen or wouldn't occur."

Consequently, Ice Bear had influential authorities in her family and community who warned her to distance herself from BLM. In the words of Ice Bear, "He [her father] says to just stay out of BLM in general. It's none of my business to talk about BLM." True to the MMM, Ice Bear's father told bear and not to not criticize the status quo in the U.S.

Category III = Racism Conscious, No MMM Conscious, No Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, No Negative Effects on People of Color

Some participants who saw that systemic racism, racial stereotypes, and ethnic stereotypes existed. And, they felt that the MMM was a negative influence in their career development. But, they did not mention or were not aware of the MMM being a negative impact on the career development of other people of color.

Hennessey. Hennessey felt that racial and ethnic stereotype existed, and racial stereotypes, such as the MMM, was a risk to her career development. She felt that she and her AA peers had to stay on a narrow definition of career in order to fit into the model minority mode. She saw that any deviation from the MMM mode implied that she was not AA or a failure at being AA:

> Because of the model minority myth, a lot of my Asian peers started off with really high expectations of themselves. And, once we started realizing that we couldn't achieved those goals, we had kind of feel like a little bit lost in a way and ended up having to go in a limbo because we had to change our plans while still wanting to be perceived as not only intelligent but capable. We felt pressured by the model minority stereotype, and we always felt that our achievements weren't really a big deal because those achievements were expected of us.

However, she wondered whether the MMM, coupled with her parents' expectation, helped her with her career performance:

> Sometimes, I feel like the MMM helped me feel more competitive. Sometimes, I wonder whether I would still be at this point without my parents having such high expectations. I wonder whether I would be at this point my life and would have achieved this much without my parents.

Regardless, she felt that both the pressures of the MMM and her parents were harmful to her mental health and well-being:

> I also feel that the model minority myth and my parents' expectations has impacted my mental health because I feel that my success isn't really my own, but it's more of my culture.

The MMM dehumanized her because it discredited her personal agency and hard work. Instead, it credited her achievements to an automated factor that was independent of her efforts and free will:

> It's attributed to my culture and my parent's expectations. I feel like I'm I feel like things are aren't really because of me, but because of external factors like the environment and traits about myself rather than through my own will.

In addition, Hennessey believed that the MMM created a career segregation system. That system pushed her parents to insist that her chances for success was in being a medical doctor:

> My parents were initially very hesitant towards me doing law because they believed that Asian students couldn't be successful in the law profession. They thought that being a doctor was the ideal because they thought that law was definitely for people who are more stereotypically outspoken and have a presence—a strong presence that they believe many Asian people don't tend to have naturally.

They felt that her racial category determined her nature and therefore the likelihood of her succeeding in a particular type of career:

> They thought that the Asian disposition in general was to be more reserved, but people typically think of lawyers as argumentative and very assertive and lacking the soft qualities that Asian culture tends to promote.
>
> They wanted something that was possible—that had been done before. They wanted something that wasn't just possible but also probable. They wanted an environment that I could succeed in with minimal problems that like arise.

They based their belief on their fears of their daughter not being able to find employment due to racial discrimination in hiring practices:

> They have a notion that, in the legal field, there's a lot more soft skills that are emphasized and your colleagues might not accept you based on your race. They feared that White people in America would always be one step ahead of you. It would be easier for White people to succeed compared to an Asian woman who is t Vietnamese. They said, "They will look at you, and they will always have that image of you before other things. They'll doubt your qualifications more."

Her parents felt that the way to immunize her from the racism was to enter a STEM field, specially becoming a medical doctor:

> They thought that the medical field is more objective—if you have the degree and you can show that you have the skills, you're going to get hired and your colleagues are going to accept you.

Participants like Hennessey were well-aware of racial stereotypes and the MMM. They sensed that such stereotypes would have a negative effect on their future career. They saw it as a barrier for their career development, but they did not display an awareness in terms of how the MMM may negatively affect other people of color, such as Black and Latinx Americans.

Category IV = Not Racism Conscious, Not MMM Conscious, No Negative Effects on CD of SEAA, No Negative Effects on CD of People of Color

Among the participants, there was a group that had little, if any, awareness of systemic racism and racial or ethnic stereotypes. And, they who did not believe that the MMM negatively their CD nor did they mention or viewed the MMM as having a negative impact on any other minorities, particularly people of color.

Button. For example, Button did not feel that the MMM had any influence on her career development:

> In regards to the model minority myth and my career, I don't have anything. I think maybe it is because I have secluded myself from what outsiders think or have secluded myself from hearing those opinions.

Button felt that if racial stereotypes, such as the MMM, existed, she can simply retreat from it to have it not impact her career development.

Chaco. Similar to Button, Chaco had an awareness of some racial stereotypes but did not view the MMM to be relevant to career development:

> Whether racial stereotypes, particularly model minority myth, played in my career development? I don't believe that they've been.
>
> The common myth is that Asians are all good at math. I am not particularly good at math. I wanted to do better at math.

In fact, he did not believe that it was a negative connotation:

> Personally, I don't get offended by that. I don't see it as a bad thing. Even if they say it like a slander, how's that a bad thing that they say, "You're good at math." Don't you want to be good at math? Personally, that myth itself isn't really… that stereotype isn't really hurtful to me.

As result, he did not see a relationship between racial stereotypes and career development. Instead, he saw that racial stereotypes endangered AA during the COVID-19 pandemic because they were all blamed for it.

> I don't think any of those racial stereotypes relate to my career development, but I know for sure they do outside of my career development. There is coronavirus. Asian Americans are getting harassed or whatever. I know for sure that in the U.S. right now a lot of Asian Americans are getting harassed and maybe assaulted simply for being Asian. But, I don't think that relates to my career development.

Chaco saw that his career development was insulated from racial stereotypes that may exist in U.S. society, such as violence against AA because others blamed AA for the global pandemic.

ST. ST she was not aware of racial stereotypes or of the MMM, and she did not feel that the MMM played a part in her life, particularly her career development:

> In the first class of my accounting class for accounting majors, the faculty said, ""I hope we are all on the same page. We understand English. I'm not here to teach you English. I did not come here to teach English. This class requires you to understand English. Make sure that you know it to get through the class because it is really hard class." I was confused because that felt that if we got to this point in accounting we knew English.

She did not recognize racist microaggressions and dismissed remarks such as "I did not come to teach English" as faculty's genuine concern for the education of their students:

> I was thinking that he said that because Asians do not speak English well. Sometimes, when we speak, it is hard for others to understand. There were 63 to 65 students, and I think almost half of the students were Chinese and Vietnamese. Some were Whites, and a few were Blacks.

The majority of the students were AA, and she did not see the faculty's remarks as a racist commentary:

> It just hurt my feelings, but that was okay. I felt that it was nothing. It didn't affect me. It just made me felt prepared more. I felt, "Okay, he is telling me that I have to do more to get an 'A'." He was really nice when I went to his office hour. He nicely talked and nicely explained very to me the materials. So, maybe he was just making sure that we understood the reading and understood what it is asking us. I think he just wanted students to think.

For ST, what may appear as microaggressions where simply coincidence. Consequently, her faculty were not stereotyping AA but were concerned for their performance as students.

Chapter Summary

Participants had varying awareness of racial stereotypes and the MMM. Their level of consciousness appeared to correspond to how young they were when they came to the U.S. and the diversity of the neighborhoods in which they were raised. However, even if these participants were aware of racial stereotypes and the MMM, they did not see a connection with their career development. The participants who were aware of racial stereotypes and the MMM and saw that there was a connection between racial stereotypes, particularly the MMM, with their career development or with the career development of people of color. These participants were more likely to be born in the U.S.

Chapter 7: Analysis & Findings—Research Question 3

In Chapter 6, I analyzed the data and findings for the third research question, which investigated whether racial stereotypes, particularly the model minority myth, had an impact in the career development of participants. In Chapter 7, I will examine the final research question: What *meaning* do they attribute to their lived experience as it pertains to their career development? I will present the findings in seven parts: (1) Parents & Family, (2) Community & Society, (3) Unexpected or Unknown Journey, (4) Pioneering, (5) Personal Agency, (6) Maximizing Opportunities, and (7) Challenges Conquered.

"What does your career development mean to you in the context of where you've been and where you're headed?"

Table 7.10 displays the themes found in each participant's response to the third research question. Their responses came during their interviews.

Table 7.10

Career Development Meaning Themes

Pseudonym	CC	EC	MO	PA	PF	PG	UJ
Alex			1		1		
Amber					1		
Appa				1			
Avatar				1			
Button				1			1
Chaco		1				1	
Chopper	1					1	
Cuab		1			1		
Dr Pepper							1
Hennessey							1
Ice Bear							1
J	1						
JC							1
Lida		1	1		1		
Ling		1					1
Mulan			1		1		
ST							1
Sunshine						1	
Sydney	1					1	
Victoria	1			1			
Total Thematic Frequency	5	4	3	4	5	4	7

1 = A Theme Pertains to a Participant
CC = Challenges Conquered
EC = Ethnic Community
MO = Maximizing Opportunities
PA = Personal Agency
PF = Parents & Family
PG = Pioneering
UJ = Unexpected or Unknown Journey

Parents & Family (PF)

For some participants, the meaning of their career development was their parents and families. Participants such as Amber and Mulan drew from this collectivistic mindset.

Amber. For Amber, the collectivistic approach to thinking about career was a sign of maturity:

> My career development means that I have matured and that I'm able to make the right decisions without anybody's help. I still need the support, but it makes me realize that I can do this on my own and that I don't have to worry my parents. That is a huge thing with me—I don't want to worry my parents about my future. Before, I couldn't really make the decisions on my own because I wasn't old enough, wasn't rational enough. But now that I've gotten older, and I know how to think the right way. I know to weigh out the pros and cons and makes my parents more comfortable.

Maturity in career decision-making meant that a person took more than just themselves into account:

> For me, being a mature decision maker or thinker is being able to weigh the pros and cons and being able to make the right decision, not only for yourself but for the people around you. And, its being able to comfort, being able to let them know that you are in a good and safe environment—mentally, physically, emotionally. And, its being able to know when you need support and when you need to talk to someone about it.

Part of the mature manner of making a career decision was in how the choice of career that the participant selected:

> It is about think of picking something that would benefit you money-wise and emotionally and mentally and not doing something that you are not going to hate. So, it's picking something that benefits you mentally and emotionally and that benefits the people around you.

For Amber, it was irresponsible for her to consider her career development process in a silo, isolated from her family.

Mulan. Similarly, Mulan, felt that career decision-making should involve reciprocity, which meant taking into consideration what her parents had done for her:

> When I think about my career development, I keep thinking about my parents' sacrifices. If they didn't sacrifice the things that they did for me—my career development—I wouldn't be where I'm at today or where I would be in the future.
>
> My career development was influenced by a lot of people involved in my life. Of course, my family ultimately wanted me to be successful and wanted me to be able to provide for myself. The influence my parents have on me and the sacrifices that they made, these have allowed me to come this far in my career development.

For her, the way to reciprocate sacrifices was to make sacrifices on her end:

> Even though I know that it's difficult to get there, their sacrifices were my first source of hope—telling me that I should continue pursuing my career. So, I build on that hope with every and each opportunity that I encounter.
>
> For example, I had the opportunity to go to Cambodia—that was another source of hope to continue doing what I what I wanted to. I just look at the opportunities that I have had as a source of hope to continue to motivate me to pursue my career.

If reciprocity meant that she had to sacrifice her own interests and happiness, it was acceptable because it was an investment in her future as well as the future of her offsprings:

> The ultimate goal for me is just to make my parents happy—that has always been a motivation for me from the start—and to give back to them. What they have given me was an eternal source of opportunities here in the U.S. that I can never get in Cambodia. That has translated not only to my career but also to my future kids. From the sacrifices that my parents have made, they have created generations of opportunities.

For Mulan, career development was family development. It was not short-term, but long-term planning that could affect generations.

Ethnic Community (EC)

For some participants, the meaning of their career development was not only their parents and family but also their ethnic community. Participants such as Cuab, Lida, and Ling adopted this communal meaning.

Cuab. Cuab felt that her career performance was not something that she achieved independently of her family and community:

> My career development means that if I do achieve then it is something that I could give not only to myself but also to my family because my career was not something that I achieve all by myself. I achieve because of those who encouraged me and provided for me ever since I started this path.

And, she did not believe that her achievement was solely for herself but also for her family:

> Achieving would be something for me to not only show them that I was able to achieve it for myself and do what I wanted but also for me to show them that their efforts weren't wasted. And, I would have proof to show my achievement to them because I wouldn't want anyone looking down on my parents because of me.
>
> And, it would be something to show my siblings that if they work hard they will be able to achieve and if they really put their minds to it and be committed to it. It is really hard for the younger generation to do something that they don't see is possible. So, for my career development, I really want to not only grow for myself but I also want to be able to show it to my family, especially my siblings, that they'll be able to achieve anything that they really put your minds to.

Furthermore, her motivation was to represent her ethnic community:

> And it's a representation, not just for myself, but also for my family and for others, especially in the Hmong community, that it is possible because it is achievable.

For Cuab, visualizing the career development was visualizing the potential for her ethnic community to achieve and to be represented in a positive manner.

Lida. Felt that her victories over barriers were wins for her family and her ethnic community:

> In terms of my career development and what it means to me in relation to where I have been and where am now, it's steady moving. It's an achievement—these little wins aren't just for me but for my family and my community and for my mentors and for those who look up to me. At the end of the day, it is a community achievement. At the end of the day, my calling is not about me but about those who will be impacted by what I can bring and what I give back.

Part of the barriers that she felt she and her ethnic community faced were trauma that was passed down due to their families' refugee history. As she progressed in her career, she had their lived experiences in mind:

> I've experienced the impacts of intergenerational traumas as well as my own childhood traumas that can impact me now as a young woman in her early 20s. I ask myself, "What does the implications look like? Where I can stop that cycle—the cycle of poverty, the cycle of financial instability, and the cycle of violence? What can I do for this next generation. How do I build financial wealth and equity for my family and then help others do the same?"

For Lida, the meaning of her career connected with the hopes and aspiration of her neighborhood and ethnic community.

Ling. Like Lida, Ling felt that her career development was linked to her desire to provide assets to her ethnic community:

> I'm now in education, and I want to do research on Southeast Asian Americans. This is something that I wanted to fix or something that I wanted to support my community with. So, in terms of that, I feel pretty good about that.
>
> I think about the future, and I guess that it is kind of uncertain. I don't know what I'm going to be doing. And, I don't know if this is like necessarily something sustainable. But, that uncertainty doesn't make me necessarily feel bad or worried or anything like that because I didn't know that this is where I was going to be in the first place.

For Ling, what is certain for career had been how central the Laotian community was to Ling's motivation. It had been the one constant that served as a compass in Ling's career. It had given her meaning in her pursuit, regardless of where Ling may end up in their career.

Unexpected or Unknown Journey (UJ)

For some participants, the meaning of their career development was the unexpected and unknown journey that was behind and ahead of them. It was a constant work in progress. The participants who had this perspective included Dr Pepper, Hennessey, Ice Bear, JC, and ST:

Dr Pepper. For Dr Pepper, there was not an answer to the meaning of her career development. She was comfortable with wherever her career development took her as long as she was able to explore her identity and to live her desired lifestyle:

> What does my career development mean to me in the context of where I've been and where I'm heading? I mean… I'm still going through it…So, it's not like I have like an actual career right now, so it's really hard for me to answer this question because… I don't really have an answer for that.

What was most important for Dr Pepper was that she had personal agency in crafting her career development and her life decisions. For this reason, it is also appropriate to cross list her in the "Personal Agency" (PA) theme.

Hennessey. For Hennessey, just because her career path was unclear it did not mean that it was void of meaning or lessons. She did not feel compelled to mimic the path of others as long as she reached her goal:

> It means to me that it's a very long road where I have to keep on traveling. It seems like it's a very long constant road where I can take little breaks but still see the destination at the very end.
>
> But, it's just a very long journey, and instead of thinking of it as different steps to ultimately reach the goal, I realized that every step has somehow changed me in a way and improved me as a person. And, so the steps aren't pointless because at the end they're useful and worth learning from.

Hennessey believed that every step of her career development journey yielded meaning even if it was not obvious to others.

Ice Bear. For Ice Bear, she saw that she on a journey to put her training and thoughts into action:

> I feel like I'm still learning. I still feel like I have so much to learn about my career. I've soaked in all this knowledge from the past four years. I've been learning a lot of things, but I haven't been able to execute them a lot. And, so I feel like from here until my future, I'm going to be working a lot on executing the what I've learned.

She wanted her actions to represent the expression of the meaning of her career development.

JC. For JC, her career development meant that a new world had opened up for her to achieve:

> It means a lot in terms of where I've been. Originally, I was only interested in the health field. This career development—I can tell—it can be life-changing. It's going to be a lot of unexpected bumps, but with the City being a hotspot for top tech companies, I can do a lot of explorations and get more experience.

JC saw her career development to mean opportunities for her.

ST. For ST, her career development meant another opportunity for her to learn about the working in a professional setting:

> In the past, I wanted to do accounting; but, when I arrived here, I learned a little bit more about what I wanted to be. Talking with the firms, I have an idea on what I am going to do or work on in the future. So, I am learning more about my career even though I have not had experienced in it. I have a better idea about what I will be doing in the future.

Since no one in her nuclear or extended family have been in the profession that she have been pursuing, she saw her career development as learning about having a professional career.

Pioneering (PG)

Several participants viewed the meaning of their career development as a pioneering venture—one that has allowed them to blaze lightly trodden and new trails for others like them to travel in the future. These participants included Chaco, Chopper, Sunshine, and Sydney.

Chaco. Chaco felt that he represented a new generation of SEAA who could open doors for future SEAA:

> My career development means that it is the start of a new chapter for not only my life but also of my family's life and other Laotian and Hmong Americans. I know that Southeast Asian Americans just got here when we immigrated in the 1970s and 1980s. I am part of the new generation. We are stepping up, serving, and giving back to our communities, including our own local community.

Chaco saw that his career development was a reflection and continuation of progress for his family.

Chopper. Chopper saw that success in their career development would mean that those like them would have an easier path in the future.

> When I think of the meaning of my career development in context of where I've been and where I'm headed, I think about being from a low-socio economic background; being closeted; and being Asian; and being unprepared versus other people who came to college. I'm always thinking about how I could make sure that what went through will not be the same for so many people who have my backgrounds. So, that's constantly my outlet in media. That's what it means to me as I move forward—it where I'm going.

Chopper saw their ability to overcome the barriers placed on front of people like Chopper who had intersecting identities would give hope to others who were like Chopper.

Sunshine. Sunshine felt that he was creating new avenues into careers that his ethnic community had been underrepresented in the past:

> What it means to me is that it's personally really exciting because I am pioneering. It's my first time trying to do this. Looking back at it, I was not 100 percent certain that it was going to be where I'm now. The choices I made in the past reflected what I really wanted to do now. It's what I really wanted. It's something that I feel like I could draw from for the rest of my life.

Sunshine was mindful that he was not only a minority among minorities but a minority within his chosen profession. These sensitivities contributed to the meaning that he attributed to his career development.

Sydney. Sydney saw that her career development as a way for her to provide assistance to someone who had a similar lived experience:

> What it means is that it's really personal because, where I have been, I really could have benefited from having someone who is doing the kind of work that I want to do. Especially in my hometown, there is no way I could have been able to find someone to diagnose me. We don't have a counselor at school; that is also a reason why I didn't go to the school counselor path. We only have like a college counselor, and he was super shabby. It is very personal to me to be able to use my education to be a counselor who would be able to diagnose someone like me.

For Sydney, her career development represented a personal mission to help those who encountered similar challenges as hers.

Personal Agency (PA)

Another theme among participants on the meaning of their career development was that career development was a sign of their personal agency or personal will to choose their journey. This did not mean that they did not acknowledge external influences but that their will to make their career decisions should be recognized and should not be overlooked. Among the participants who felt that the understanding of career development should not be forget the

presence of the individual even if they grew up in a collectivistic household and communal society includes Appa, Avatar, and Button.

Appa. Appa saw her career development as an expression of her personal agency. That is, she did not arrive at it because she felt that she had to fit into racial stereotypes. For her, her career development was not automatic:

> I'm not exactly sure what my career development means to me, but I think, in the past it might have been pretty influenced by people around me. As I grew up, it was more something I chose because I wanted to do it. And I think that's how I am in the present: I'm doing this, not because people told me to; or because society expects me to; or because the model minority myth expects me to be a doctor. I'm going into this because that's like what I want to do.

Appa felt that there was no meaning unless others recognized her mind behind her career development.

Avatar. Avatar felt that her career development would be an example of how her personal will power would overcome the barriers that she faced as a SEAA:

> When I look at where I have been and where I am going in the future, my career development means to me that I've had people influence my decisions but that I've chosen to do something that I'm happy with. I think that it is a big step—a kind of independence movement. In a sense, it is being able to do things on my own, but also being able to prove people wrong. I want to prove that a little Lao girl from the middle of West Texas can know a lot and can do a lot. Especially for a lot of minorities trying to break into politics, I think that my career development can pave the way for people like me in the future. Personally, for me, I think I will have that like feeling of being fulfilled and not dreading every day of living and working a nine-to-five that I don't enjoy.

Avatar saw that her career development represented a kind of liberation from the influences of others as well as the acknowledgment of her free will.

Button. For Button, her career development signaled to her that she had a choice in what she would be doing as a career:

> In the context of where I've been and where I'm headed, I think that I've broken barriers that I had made for myself. Growing up, I had ideas of what perfect was; what my expectations for myself were; and what I thought peers, society, family, and parents expected from me. By choosing to do what makes me happy, I was at first—and even now—telling myself, "Wow, that sounds really selfish." But, I think that choosing to do what makes me happy is healthy, and the right thing to do. Coming to this way of thinking has such a huge progress for me. It is such a huge development as to where my career is now. So, to be able to like be at peace and to accept my career is a huge step.

For Button, the feeling of possessing free-will in her career development meant that she had influence over her happiness.

Maximizing Opportunities (MO)

And, some participants viewed the meaning of their career development to include the idea that they wanted to make sure that they take full advantage of the opportunities that they their parents and family afforded them by immigrating to America.

Alex. Alex saw that he had opportunities that were not available to his parents and that his parents wanted a better life for him than the one that they had to live:

> I think that, in context of where I have been and where I am headed, my career development means a lot. It definitely means a lot because I know, statistically speaking, my parents are refugees and immigrants. Statistically speaking, the chances of me being here are pretty low. Since I am a first-generation Asian American and the first one in our family to be able to go to school, it means a lot. Personally, it's nice. I'm glad that I didn't waste my opportunity here in America to pursue education because my parents never had that opportunity. So, it's nice to be able to take that opportunity, and a lot it is living out an experience that my parents never got to.

He saw his career development as an actualization of his parent's dream when they arrived in the U.S. as refugees.

> It also means a lot in the larger scheme of things because my parents were able to realize the promise of the American Dream—if you come into this country and you work hard, your kids will have a better chance of being more successful or living a better life than you did. I think that's very That's kind of the bedrock of the American dream.
>
> So, being here means a lot because it's nice to see the American Dream lived out in my family; and, I do realize that we're probably very fortunate to have that to be able to be true. It's not guaranteed for everybody.

For Alex, the meaning of his career development was connected to his family's journey as refugees.

Challenges Conquered (CC)

Finally, a theme present among participants was the notion that the meaning of their career development was the struggles and barriers that they had to overcome in the past. Victories over past challenges gave them hope that they had the assets and tools within them and around them to help them conquer challenges. Victoria and J expressed this meaning.

Victoria. Victoria felt that her career development was a testament to her ability to resolve challenges in order to succeed:

> What it means to me, personally, is growth. As I mentioned before, you have to go through a series of ups and downs to get to where you want to be. And, right now, even though I might be at a down part of the roller coaster, I do see myself getting better and having more motivation. For sure, I do see myself finishing. It means that, right now, I'm going through a lot. But that just gives me more motivation to pull myself out of this funk and to complete what I started.

She felt that she has a demonstrated history of overcoming challenges and that it was a matter of time before she would succeed in accomplishing her career goals:

> At this point, I feel like I'm in the middle of the race and that I'm in last place. But, I don't have to be in first place to finish, I just need to finish. So, that's I where my head is that right now. I feel very, very motivated. I'm thinking very positive. I know that I'm not doing well right now. But, if I just sit around and mope about it all day, then nothing's going to get better. So, I just need to address what's wrong. I need to take the necessary action to get myself out of this situation, and I need to just move forward and be positive.

For Victoria, it was a matter of acting out her motivations.

J. J saw that their career development was their lived experienced:

> The meaning of my career development comes from a place of struggles with societal pressures, family pressures, and internal pressures. It is something that did not align with what society expected of me and what my parents expected me to do.

J did not see their career development existing interpedently of their lived experiences:

> I have picked up influences throughout my life that had helped me decided my major. If I didn't face depression and anxiety and didn't go into the mental hospital, I probably wouldn't be a psychology major because mental health is a huge part of what I like to do. I like to do mental health research in psychology and sociology.

Part of their lived experience was their identities, especially the intersectionality of their identities:

> As an Asian American, the meaning of my career development is how I deal with this tightrope of "I should be smart, but I don't want to be too smart to perpetuate a stereotype" or how I deal with my family and societal problems and generational traumas that could have been pushed down onto me.

Since there lived experience was constantly changing as the events in their lives affected them, they saw that their career development to be a fluid phenomeon:

> It is these things that I have experienced in my life and have shaped my career development. It is this very fluid thing that was constantly changing throughout my life, but that I had refused to believe or address it for the longest time. It is this thing of "I was a biomedical engineer because I wanted to." It is this thing of how you're supposed to have one interest in your life, and that's all you have through your whole life."

Finally, J saw that their career development was a reflection of unforeseen events that shaped their life:

> But that's not true. That's not necessarily true. From what I've told you throughout my life, my career development changed. I had so many big influential moments: my parent's divorce; my learning more about how a lot of people in America are divorced; and my stay in the mental hospital; and my tying it into the psychology of why my family acts in a certain way because of how they were raised, which deal with both sociology and psychology. Those critical life events really shaped a lot of how my career was changed and shaped throughout the years. So, I know that that's what my career development means to me—that I am a product of the events that has happened in my life because those events have shaped my career path.

J took a holistic view to their career development. There was not one single event that shaped the meaning of their career but a cumulation of lived experiences that created the meaning of their career development.

Chapter Summary

Participant construction of the meaning of their career development fell into themes that aligned with the factors that aided them in persisting in their field of study and career field. While there was not a single factor that defined the meaning of their career development, there were predominant factors. For example, some saw that their parents and their family were their main motivators to persist. Others saw that their ethnic community served as motivations for them to endure an arduous, stressful, or nebulous career path. For some, the journey itself was

the meaning because that journey often reflected their lived experience. For others, self was the meaning. Their career development gave them the opportunity to reclaim their personal agency and freewill. Their career development existed; therefore, they existed. Their career development was a reminder that they existed in this world. For some, their career development meant realizing what their parents had dreamt for them when they brought their families to the U.S. And finally, for others, their career development was another test that they felt that they had to overcome after a long history of overcoming personal challenges.

Chapter 8: Discussion & Recommendations

In Chapters 5, 6, and 7, I presented the analysis and findings for the study's three research questions: (1) How do Southeast Asian American college students perceive the role (if any) *parents*, *family* (e.g., siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents), *peers* (e.g., friends, classmates, peers), and *institutional agents* (e.g., administrators, faculty, staff) play in their career development? (2) How do Southeast Asian American college students perceive the role (if any) that *racial stereotypes*, particularly the *model minority myth*, play in their career development? and (3) What *meaning* do they attribute to their lived experience as it pertains to their career development? In Chapter 8, I will discuss the key findings and offer recommendations for higher education researchers, policymaker, and practitioners to support the success of Southeast Asian American college students. The discussion will be in two parts: (1) Social Cognitive Career Theory and the career development of SEAA college students and (2) career decision-making complexities among SEAA college students.

SCCT & The Career Development of SEAA College Students

The theoretical framework in this study is Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT). SCCT consists of three interlocking models: Career Interest Model (CIM), Career Choice Model (CCM), and Career Performance Model (CPM). While there are similarities between the assumptions of the SCCT models and the career development of the participants in this study, there are multiple and critical differences between them. Table 7.11 provides an overview on how well the SCCT models and the participants aligned:

Table 7.11
Similarities between SCCT Models and Participants' Career Development

Pseudonym	Career Interest Model (CIM)	Career Choice Model (CCM)	Career Performance Model (CPM)
Alex	5	5	5
Amber	2	2	5
Appa	4	5	5
Avatar	1	1	1
Button	2	2	5
Chaco	5	5	5
Chopper	1	5	5
Cuab	4	4	5
Dr Pepper	1	1	5
Hennessey	2	2	5
Ice Bear	1	1	5
J	1	1	5
JC	5	5	5
Lida	1	1	5
Ling	1	1	1
Mulan	4	4	5
ST	5	5	5
Sunshine	5	5	5
Sydney	1	1	1
Victoria	4	4	1

5 = Very Similar
4 = Similar
0 = Neutral
2 = Not Similar
1 = Not Very Similar

I arrived at the above conclusion based upon my close reading of the transcript for each participant. After transcribing and reading over the text, I reexamined it for its closeness to the interlocking models in SCCT.

Career Interest Development Model

SCCT's Career Interest Model (CIM) postulates that the combination of self-efficacy and outcome expectations drives career interest, which drives career choices. According to CIM, "I can do this" coupled with "If I do this, that will happen" will impact "I want to do this". While this model is *very similar* to the lived experience of Alex, Chaco, and Sunshine and *similar* to the lived experience of Appa, Cuab, and Mulan, it is *not similar* to the lived experience Amber, Button, Hennessey, JC, and Victoria; and, it is not *very similar* to the lived experience of Chopper, JC, Avatar, Dr Pepper, Ice Bear, J, Lida, Ling, Sydney, and Victoria.

The three *very similar* participants had certain common characteristics. They all self-identified as males; in a STEM or healthcare field of study and career; and in consonant with their parents or family. Most notably, they had almost no influence from their parents, family, or community. In short, they had nearly no external influences in developing their career interest. They believed that they would be successful in their career and their expectation of the outcomes of their career was very clear compared to the rest of the participants. In short, their thinking was, "I will succeed in a STEM field of study. When I do that, I will enter the STEM career field, and I will be happy. My parents, family, and/or community happy may be happy as well. So, I am interested in a career in the STEM field."

The three *similar* participants shared certain themes. They had lived experiences that were comparable to the *very similar* participants: in a STEM field of study and in career consonance with parents, family, or community. Unlike the *very similar* participants, the *similar* participants were: (1) self-identified as females; (2) had high level of involvement or influence from their parents, family, or community in their career interest development, and (3) did not have as clear of an outcome expectation as their all male *very similar* counterparts. Their efficacy

and outcome expectations were not as clear to them as the *very similar* participants. That is, their thinking was, "I can succeed in a STEM field of study. If I can do that, I will enter the STEM career field, and my parents, family, and/or community and I will be happy. So, I am interested in a career in the STEM field."

The CIM model begins to breakdown even more for the *not similar* participants. Like the *similar* participants, the *not similar* ones self-identified as female. While the *similar* participants all had interest in a STEM and healthcare field of study and career, the *not similar* participants were individuals who chose a STEM and healthcare field as a field of study or career in their past and had changed course or continued to pursue a STEM and healthcare field but had no interest in it other than to satisfy the desires of their parents, family, or community. *Not similar* participants had parents, family, or community who were highly involved or influential in their career development but the participants had career dissonance with parents, family, or community at a point of time in their life. Furthermore, some of the *not similar* participants did not feel that they could succeed in their field of study or career pursuit. For *not similar* participants, their thoughts were: "I may succeed in a STEM field of study. If I do that, I may enter the STEM career field; but, I would do that because I perceive my parents, family, and/or community happy because of my decision. So, I am interested in a STEM career field or something that mimics it until I work up the courage to make a career change against the expectations of my parents, family, and/or community."

Finally, the CIM model comes close to collapsing when *not very similar* participants are measured up against its assumptions. CIM postulates that if an individual believes that they can succeed in an action and believe that the expectation of the outcome is a rewarding one, they will be interested in a career. However, whether participants believe that they can succeed or not in a

field of study and whether the expectations of the outcome were rewarding or not were not impactful in the career interest among the *not very similar* participants.

While most of them did well in their STEM field of study, they had no interest in STEM, even though they initially took that path to satisfy their parents, family, or community. And, although they expected a positive outcome if they were to be interested in the STEM field; but, most of them had career dissonance between them and their parents, family, or community. Instead, what was most impactful for them were whether they were highly motivated by their passions, which may be something that they are running toward—such as racial, ethnic, or social justice—or running away from—such as o parental, familial, or communal pressures. And, even if there were career consonance between them and their parents, family, or community, their outcome expectation was very unclear to them because they felt that their identities (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender) were minorities within their career of interest and that the career path is not a pre-formulated one. For them, a pre-formulated career path typically as an established, one-to-one relationship between field of study and career path, such as accounting major leads to being an accountant or nursing major leads to being a nurse. As a result, the CIM did not reflect their lived experience as it pertains to their career development.

Career Choice Model

SCCT's Career Choice Model (CCM) assumes that self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and career interests drive career goals and career actions. In the CCM, "career choice" means " career intentions" and "career goals" means "career behaviors." According to SCCT, the logical progression from CIM is CCM. That is, career interest drives career choice. However, the CIM discussion among the preceding paragraphs illustrate that this case is only true if the participants, such as CIM *similar* and especially CIM *very similar*, were either acting without little to no input or involvement from parental, familial, and/or communal influences or behaving in consonant with the needs, desires, and wishes of their parents, family, and/or community. As a result, the similarity between the CCM and the lived experiences of participants closely follow results from the CIM. Thus, for many of the *not similar* and *not very similar* participants on the CCM model, where they are in the CIM sets them up for where they are in the CCM even if they had no interest in the initial direction of their career. For these participants, there were no causal relationship between career interest and career choice unless they made a career change from STEM and the career change came upon their entry into college. For example, prior to entering college, Chopper's parents, family, and institutional agents tracked Chopper for a STEM field; but, upon entering college, Chopper went against their intentions and expectations and pursued a field of study that fed Chopper's passion. And, for participants such as Dr Pepper, interest was never part of the equation in career choice because her main interest was to escape from parental, familial, and communal influences in order to develop her identity and life style.

Career Performance Model

SCCT's Career Performance Model (CPM) believes that ability directly impacts career performance and indirectly influences the level of performance and that self-efficacy, coupled with outcome expectations, directly impacts the level of performance goals. CPM mirrors the lived experience of the participants more closely than CIM or CCM. However, it is not an accurate reflection of the lived experience of participants whose parents, family, and/or community steered them toward choosing a field of study or career that ran counter to their personal interests and desires during their years as undergraduate students. That is, participants who were indicated as *not very similar* throughout the CIM and CCM were often the ones whose lived experience did not align with the assumptions of the CPM.

These participants explained that their level of career performance did not have to do with their academic abilities as much as their academic interests. In fact, when they changed their academic major into a study of their interest, their career performance was exponentially higher because they had the interest to put in the time and energy to perform well. Furthermore, their mental health and well-being was healthier because they were more at peace with themselves, even if they were not at peace with their parents, family, and/or community. Thus, the CPM assumptions that ability directly influences performance and indirectly influences the level of performance do not apply to these participants, which I have designated as *not very similar* in relation to CPM. In addition, the CPM assumption that elf-efficacy, combined with outcome expectations, directly impacts the level of performance goals is only true if the *not very similar* participants makes a career change.

Unaccounted Variables Not Addressed by Models

Even with its interlocking, causal models, SCCT does not account for the role of racial stereotypes, particularly the model minority myth, played in the career development of the participants, especially the ones who decided to pursue a field of study or a career regardless of their perception that the model minority myth has a negative impact in their career and the ones who found that the model minority myth were motivators for their career interest and choice. These participants were all interested in field of study and career that were non-STEM- or healthcare-related. They are participants like Ling who felt that the model minority myth not only hurt Ling's ethnic community but also non-Asian communities of color and that Ling's choice of career in cultural education studies could set Ling on a trajectory to mitigate the effects of the MMM. They are also participants like Lida who felt that higher education institutions neglected or denied the support system that should be in place for Southeast Asian Americans because of the model minority myth; so, she entered the educational leadership field of study to address the issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion in higher education. And, they are participants like Avatar who felt that the model minority myth perpetuated racial and ethnic inequality and social injustice; so, her activists work, even if it went against the wishes of her family, was for her a direction toward chipping away at the MMM.

In addition, SCCT does not address the complexity of the MMM as it relates to Southeast Asian Americans and their career development. For example, Avatar explained that while the model minority myth was used to include her into a large Asian American umbrella it was also used to exclude her from it because of her Southeast Asian American identity. Similarly, SCCT did not account for participants with intersectional identities. Such is the case with Chopper, J, and Ling who did not associate with a binary definition of gender.

Finally, SCCT gives minimal attention to emotions and mental health. As discussed in the data analysis and findings of this study, intergenerational trauma is a critical and common lived experience for SEAA college students. These factors are so important that they are both motivators and barriers to the career development of SEAA college students. This adds to the incompleteness of SCCT to fully understand the lived experience of SEAA college students.

Career-Decision Making Complexities among SEAA College Students

In this section, I will discuss the complexities in which Southeast Asian American college students approach their career-decision making. My discussion will consist of the following four parts: (1) career maturity, (2)expectations manager, (3) conflict manager, (4), and resource manager. These parts originated from the common lived experiences among participants.

As Mature Career Decision-Maker

The concept of "career maturity" originated from Super's Self-Concept Theory of Career Development (1969, 1980, 1990). According to Super, a person possesses career maturity if they are able to actualize their self-concept, which is a product of the interplay among variables such as a person's mental and physical maturity, lived experiences, and environmental conditions. Since self-concept is self-constructed, the individual is at the center of the career-decision making circle. If they are able to fully actualize their self-concept, they possess career maturity.

While such a construction of career maturity may make sense to college students raised in an individualistic family and community, it is foreign to college students raised in a collectivistic family and a communal ethnic community. In collectivistic worldview, the needs and aspirations of the family has priority over the individual. In a communalistic worldview, the family, and therefore the individual, has allegiance to their ethnic community over the greater society. community.

For participants, their parents raised them with the collective-communal mindset. The individual is the face of the family, and the family is a representative of the ethnic community. The stage for which the individual becomes the face for the family is in the community, and the stage in which the ethnic community showcase its representative is the wider society. In the context of higher education, the individual is a carrier of the family torch as well as the ethnic community. Higher education becomes the event for representation in a way that an athlete may represent their family and ultimate their country in the Olympics or the World Cup in the world stage. Considering that both family and the ethnic community are mindful that they are not the majority in the U.S. and see rare, if any, representation of people in the wider society, the individuals coming from their community becomes a kind of ambassador of hope for both the family and the ethnic community.

Consequently, an individual-centric worldview is an unfamiliar world to all participants in this study. Amber, in her conceptualization of the meaning of her career development, articulated the collectivistic and communal concept of career maturity: "For me, being a mature decision maker or thinker is being able to weigh the pros and cons and being able to make the right decision, not only for yourself but for the people around you." From this worldview, self-concept is not career maturity but career immaturity. Of course, this perspective does not mean that the career decision-maker has to have career consonant with the family or with the ethnic community. Instead, it means that the decision-maker takes into consideration the impact of their decision on the needs of parents, family, and ethnic community. A sign of the individual's consideration of the family is through maintenance of the family's face in the ethnic community. And, a sign of consideration for the ethnic community is through the maintenance of ethnic community representation and pride in the greater society. The individual may be like Cuab who

embraced the family and the ethic community with her statement that her career development is "a representation, not just for myself, but also for my family and for others, especially in the Hmong community, that it is possible because it is achievable." Or, the individual may be like Dr Pepper who self-exiled from her family and community in order to develop herself and career and realized that she considered herself "an outcast" and that "That's why I moved out of state. I needed to pull myself out of the community and reflect on myself and my own identity." Regardless, at some point of time in their lifespan, they had to be mature in their career decision-making, taking into consideration of the impact that their choices and actions would have on the needs, desires, and aspiration of their parents, families, ethnic community, and themselves. Therefore, there can be no career maturity must be considered in context of parents, family (e.g., siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents) and the ethnic community (e.g., elders, church, temples).

As Expectations Manager

Born into a close-knit family and ethnic community, participants learned as early as elementary that the family and the ethnic community had expectations of them. At a very young age, they became as much of an expectation manager as a career development manager. These expectations included the definition of career success, which was derived from the refugee and immigrant plight that the family and/or the ethnic community experienced in their journey to and resettlement in the U.S. Alex shared that his parents were both explicit and implicit in their definition of success for him and his five brothers. Alex reflected, "My parents had a very exact definition of success—its money. How much money are you bringing in? They expressed this verbally and through their actions." J's family had a similar definition of success: "And, so for them—not just them but for my grandparents, my uncles, and their kids—being "successful" has

always means that you are able to afford a place, a home, for you and your family and you're never in danger of losing that home or losing food." For parents and for family members, their expectation of what success came from their definition of success. For the ethnic community, the definition of success was education, especially higher education.

Victoria had internalized the expectation of her mother, grandmother, and ethnic community. Like them, she viewed the community functions as an opportunity to compete to not only to bring the best face to the family but to represent her ethnic community:

> If and when I complete college, it means a lot. It is a really, really big accomplishment, especially in my community. As you know, every year, for Lao New year, there is a three-day event that includes a pageant. For one year, I was a pageant with all these girls that I grew up with. We were all in that pageant.

The rituals of the community became a competition among families to informally represent the ethnic community:

> None of them might graduate. It would be an amazing feeling for me if I was to be the only one of the eight contestants to graduate. I want to be the one that gets to announcement, "She was in college, and she graduated college." Knowing that I graduated when none of them were, that would be big.

It became a source of pride to be able to carry the torch for their ethnic community:

> Honestly, my family would be happy because they would get the reputation in the community that I was able to graduate when no one else in my community were able to do it. Essentially, you're in competition with all of these other Laos people at the Temple.

So, participants had to not only managed their interests but also their families and their ethnic community's interest. Entering college at 18 years of age, participants had to manage the complexity of sometimes competing expectations.

On top of parental, familial, and communal expectations, participants had to manage societal expectations, particularly the model minority myth. Going into college, Ling felt, "I'm Asian. Asian people are doctors, and they do these really big, well-paying careers." So, Ling's field of study was pre-medical and pursue medical doctor as a career. But, Ling neither had the interest nor the ability to succeed in pre-medical. At the same time, Ling was judgmental of Lao people. She explained, "Because of the model minority myth, I had begun to internalized a bit of hatred toward Lao people. I had viewed my people as not being successful or striving towards success." Immediately after high school and entering college, Ling had to manage the expectation of racial stereotypes—the model minority myth—that was prevalent in U.S. society. Instances like this took a toll on the mental health of SEAA college students.

As Conflict Resolution Manager

If a participant's actual career interest and choice were in consonant with the multitude of expectations, the main barriers that were present were financial barriers. But, if there were career dissonance between participants and their parents, family, or ethnic community, the SEAA college student needed to be a conflict manager. The participant may find themselves figuring out how to make a career change, communicate that to their family the intention or the change, and then secure acceptance form their parents, family, and community. Participants had to find a diplomatic way to explain to their parents; and often, as in the case with Button and Cuab, their command of the language that their parents or family spoke was not sufficient to help them communicate to their mother and father about their career change. Cuab recounted her communicate to her mother about her change from pursuing medical school to pursuing graduate school in biomedical sciences:

> If you are a doctor, you just explain to them that you're a doctor who provides medical attention to patients. But, as a grad student, you have to do lab work and research, which isn't easy to explain to them. That was really hard for me. The first time when I had to have a heart to heart talk with my mom and tell her, "I'm sorry. I won't become a doctor because it is not the career path that I chose to go onto. That path is not where our passion lies as a right now," it was really hard. She asked, "What is research?," and I didn't know how to articulate it in Hmong.

In the end, she had to get aunt who were supportive of her to help her explain to her mother using the Hmong dialect that her mother used.

As Resource Manager

Finally, since an overwhelming majority of the participants did not have intergenerational wealth and knowledge to navigate higher education, graduate school, or labor market systems, they had to be resourceful. They had to figure out how to finance their education without burdening their family who may have fewer resources and how to navigate a higher educational system that do not view them as part of an underrepresented minority or viewed them the model minority lens that theorizes that Southeast Asian American college students should be treated the way they treat students under the Asian American umbrella.

In addition, especially for those who decide to not enter a STEM field of study, they will have to learn and be effective at "playing the game," as Chopper refers to it, in order to navigate the professional work environment to be successful. Once more, Chopper emphasized:

In a sense, networking "around them" is being able to play the game, and the game is a White male industry. "Playing the game" is "You scratch my back. I'll scratch your back." You have to connect with the right people, and sometimes, the right people are just not great people.

As a result, the SEAA college student must grow up quickly in order to do well in their field of study, in their mental health and well-being, and in their career performance. I would argue that these are evidence of true career maturity.

Recommendations

In this section, I will make recommendations to SCCT as well as to higher research, policy, and practices. My recommendations pertaining to SCCT is intended to add on to the framework because I believe that it is sufficient but not complete for explaining the career development of SEAA college students.

Strengthening SCCT

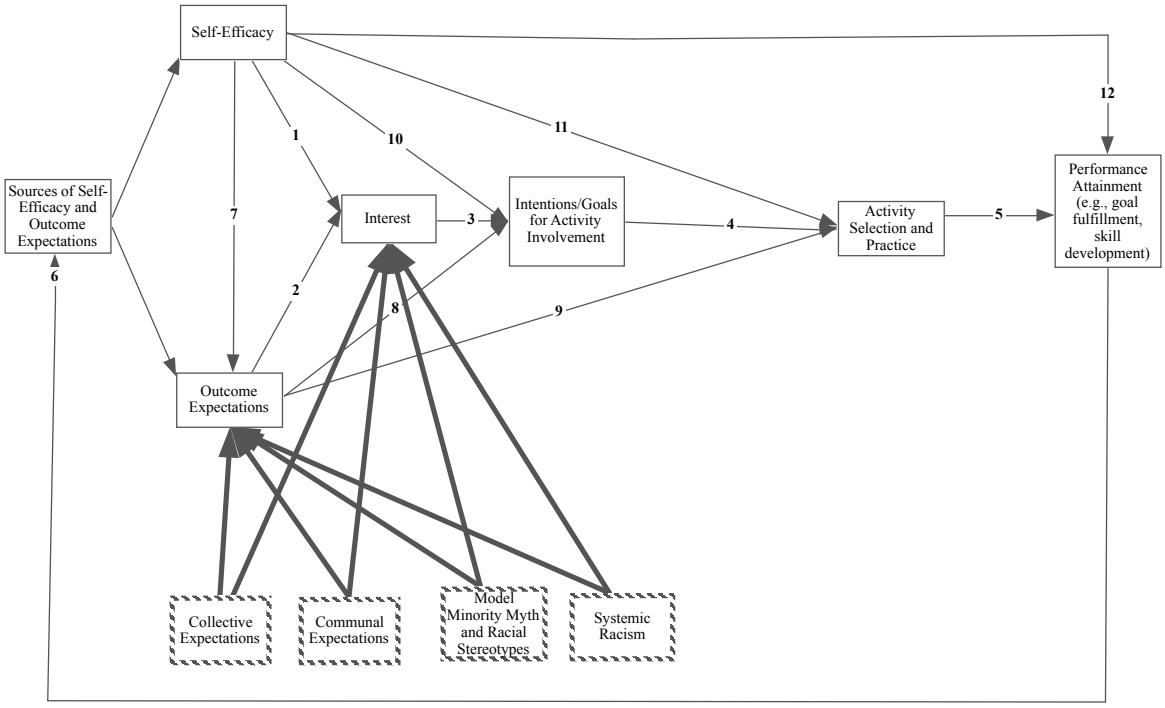
Each interlocking model of SCCT is missing components that are critical for understanding the career development of SEAA college students.

Career Interest Development Model (CID)

CID assumes that individuals bringing into their career interest background and contextual affordances. For example, a male student may have interest in being a nurse but perceives that the profession is a female profession and therefore does not take interest in it. It does not take into account that the individual may not be on the top the decision-making hierarchy because their traditional, multigenerational family have priority over their career interests. Furthermore, CID does not account for racial stereotypes, the model minority myth, and institutional racism in the interest. For example, the same male student may have a high interest in the medical profession because he sees that people who look like him are expected or more of a history of success in nursing than in fine arts or radio, television, and films. Therefore, SCCT needs to be modified to take into account the following: (1) collective expectations, (2) communal expectations, (3) model minority myth and racial stereotypes, and (4) systemic racism. Furthermore, these additional factors directly affect outcome expectations and career interests. My proposed modification to SCCT is below in Figure 8.10.

Figure 8.10

Career Interest Development Model Modified for SEAA College Students



The dashed text boxes and thicker directional arrows represent my recommendations.

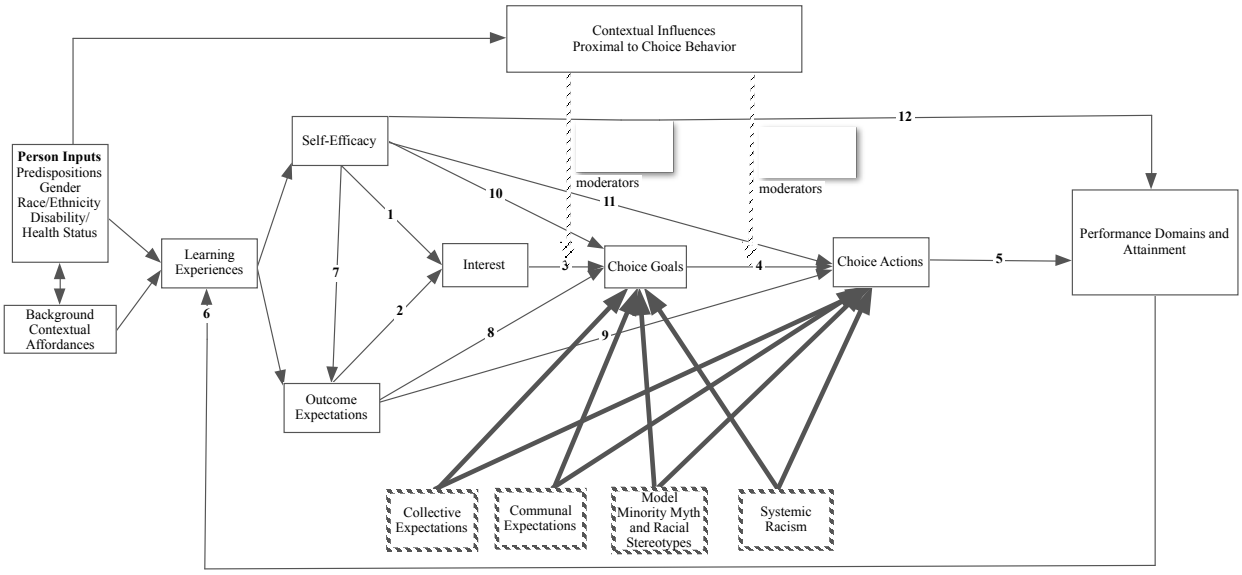
Career Choice Model (CCM)

CCM presumes that individuals make decisions based upon *personal inputs*. It does not take into account the family- and community-imposed inputs and does not address power dynamics within the close-knit families and ethnic communities that SEAA college were raised or experiencing in their lives. Furthermore, CCM does not consider the model minority myth, racial stereotypes, and systemic racism that is part of the powers that impact the career choice of SEAA college students. A SEAA college student may have an opinion on whether they are interested in or desire to choose a profession, but they may keep the decision closeted and choice a career that is not true to their desire because their food, shelter, and mental health and well-being may be dependent upon it. There is a direct relationship that exists between these factors

and choice of career goals and choice of career actions. Consequently, CCM should be modified to take these factors into account. Figure 8.11 below represents my recommendation for modifying SCCT:

Figure 8.11

Career Choice Model Modified for SEAA College Students



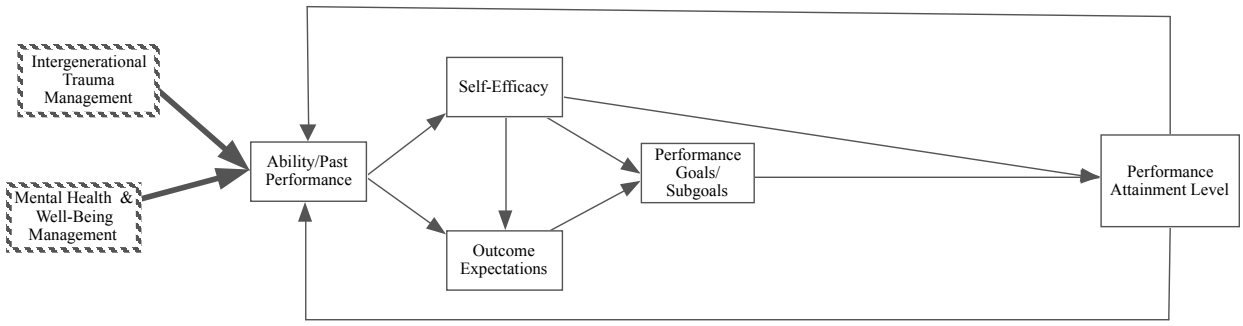
The dashed text boxes and thicker directional arrows represent my recommendations.

Career Performance Model (CPM). CPM does not take into account the intergenerational trauma and the mental health and well-being factors that impacts the career performance of SEAA college students. These factors are critical to understanding the career development of SEAA because collective expectations, communal expectations, model minority myth and racial stereotypes, and systemic racism are compounding the lived experience of 18-year old SEAA college students entering college. And, they continue to be factors during graduate school because many of them continue to live in traditional, multigenerational households and ethnic communities. Even if they place distance between them and their parents,

families, and communities, they must still manage those factors. They must continue to be mature decision-makers, expectation managers, resource managers, and conflict resolution managers. Their ability to manage these expectations and roles impact their mental health and well-being. The management of these two elements drive SEAA college students' perception of their abilities and meaning of their past performance. Therefore, SCCT needs to take into account intergenerational trauma and mental health, which I have included in my modified CPM model:

Figure 8.12

Career Performance Model Modified for SEAA College Students



The dashed text boxes and the thicker directional arrows represent my recommendations.

Policy & Research

Until the U.S. Census splits "Southeast Asian" from the "Asian" category, the unique lived experiences of Southeast Asian American college students will continue be invisible and ignored. Crucial differences will continue to be flattened into a data sum that is not meaningful analysis for analysis of the Asian American racial category. There is precedent for such a split. In 1994, a federal hearing resulted in the splitting of the "Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander" from the "Asian" category in the 2000 U.S. Census. The split was to make visible the economic

disadvantage of Pacific Islander groups from the more affluent and mostly East Asian ethnic groups. The visibility was important because it positioned Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander groups to gain access to health, economic, and educational resources that is needed within these communities of color. The important differences between the Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander groups and the mostly East Asian groups made sense to have the U.S. Census separately count and display their data. And, the same holds true for Southeast Asian American groups and the mostly East Asian groups comprising of the Asian racial category.

Presently, the U.S. Census stops short of categorizing Southeast Asian American. Instead, it collects Southeast Asian American ethnicity data but continues to lump Asian American data in its reports and publications. This means that policymakers as well as researchers will continue to face the challenge of disaggregating Asian American and cross tabulating Southeast Asian American data in order to secure much needed resources for the underserved and underresourced Southeast Asian American communities. The nationalization and institutionalization of U.S. Census data is can mean the difference between accessing and achieving equity in federally funded programming for student success in postsecondary education. In addition to Pell Grants, these federally funded programs include:

Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs (GEAR UP)

GEAR UP promotes the college entry and success of low-income high students. It does this by providing early intervention programming and college scholarships.

Federal TRIO Programs (TRIO)

TRIO programs are federally funded and is administered U.S. Department of Education to increase access college, funding for higher education, and completion of degreed programs. It includes access to its eight programs: (1) Educational Opportunity Centers, which provides

admissions, academic, and career counseling to first-generational college students and individuals from low-socioeconomic backgrounds; (2) Ronald E. McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement Program, which aid individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds through their doctoral studies; (3) Student Services Support, which offers academic development and postsecondary retention and completion; (4) Talent Search, which counsels students on academic, career, and financial issues pertaining to postsecondary education; (5) Upward Bound, which prepares (e.g, mathematics, sciences, literature, rhetoric and wring, foreign languages preparation; counseling, mentoring, tutoring, work-study programming) high school students from low-income families to successful enter and transition into college; (6) Upward Bound Math-Science, which aims to enhance the math and science competencies of students from low-income and disadvantaged backgrounds; (7) Veterans Upward Bound, which assist veterans with college access and success; and, (8) Training Program for Federal TRIO, which supports higher education institution personnel in its administration of Federal TRIO Programs.

Institutional Policies & Practices

On an institutional level, the disaggregation and publication of Asian American data means the difference between explicit as well as implicit exclusion from diversity initiatives aimed at student recruitment, retention, and completion. Too often, diversity initiatives mean racial, not ethnic diversity, and use racial data to drive its action and measure the effectiveness of its initiates. While racial diversity is important because of systemic racism against underrepresented racial minorities, using racial data alone to drive the purpose and measure the success of diversity has a negative impact on the college experience for Southeast Asian American college students because their lived experienced is reflected in the aggregated Asian American data.

The federal government refuses to collect and publish Asian American data in aggregate, but higher education institutions and their administrators and professional staff do not have to replicate this policy and practice if it is truly inclusive in the success of all of their students.

While one of the assets that Southeast Asian American college students have is resiliency, SEAA college students are often individuals attempting to navigate and change a system. The issue of denying access to diversity initiatives and student success passed upon racial data alone only perpetuates a false narrative on the lived experience Southeast Asian American college students. While diversity initiatives should continue to use race in its definition of diversity, it should also be inclusive of ethnicities. This is not an "either or" proposition but an "and" proposition. Race and ethnicity, and not race or ethnicity, should be in the definition and metrics for student, as well as faculty diversity, on American college campuses.

Therefore, I advocate for not only race-conscious but also ethnicity-conscious practices in student recruitment, retention, and completion initiatives. Furthermore, higher education institutions should implement academic, career, mentoring, and mental health counseling programs that are relevant to Southeast Asian American college students and do not allow the cloud of aggregated Asian American data to blind to them to the challenges that SEAA college face and the assets that SEAA college bring to their classroom and campus life.

Finally, I call for culturally relevant career centers, mental health counseling centers, and student life centers. Institutional agents should not only be knowledgeable about the SEAA college students but reflect their lived experiences. To be specific, institutional agents would be diverse and recruit and retain SEAA for their staff. Centers should also be organized in order to serve SEAA students. For example, there should be career advisors, mental health counselors,

and student organization staff specifically assigned to support the academic and career success of SEAA college students.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have made recommendations for strengthening SCCT. In the process, I discussed the general weakness of SCCT as well as specific areas among its interlocking models that need to be modified to be more relevant to SEAA college students. I also made recommendations for higher education researchers, policy makers, and practioners. These recommendations are particle as well as implementable.

Appendix

Appendix A: Participant Recruitment Letters

E-mail to Specific Students on Their University Publicly Available Directory

Dear < First Name>:

Who I Am & Why I am Writing
My name is Vinh Nguyen. I am a graduate student in the College of Education at UT-Austin. I am writing to invite you to participate in my dissertation study titled "Career Development of Southeast Asian American College Students: Parental, Familial, Institutional, Peer and Model Minority Myth Influences". By "Southeast Asian American College Students," I am referring to undergraduate and graduate students whose parents or grandparents were born in Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos and whose ethnicities are Vietnamese, Cambodian, Laotian, Hmong, Mien, Mong, Khumu, Lahu, Cham, Chinese, and/or Khmer. My hope is for this study to shine light on what I believe to be an underrepresented and underserved minority on college campuses.

Why I Am Writing Specifically to You & How I Learned of You
In my effort to identify students who may self-identify as Hmong, I went to the University-City directory and searched what I believe to be common Hmong last names. One of my Hmong friends suggested that I search for students in City with common last names (e.g., Her, Kong, Khuu, Moua) that are unique to Hmong because City has a higher number of Hmong than other cities in Texas. As a result, when I inputted these names into the University-City directory, your name appeared. I sincerely hope that I have not misidentified you and offended you if you prefer to be identified differently.

What Participation Looks Like
I am interested in doing Zoom/online interviews with you. In return for sharing with me your lived experiences as an <<Insert Major or Program of Study>> undergraduate student, I would like to give you a $10 Amazon card as a token of my appreciation for letting me learn about you.

Interested?
Would you be interested in participating? I hope that you are. If so, please take about 2 minutes to fill out the interest survey, and I follow up with you to coordinate a time to interview.
https://utexas.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_78kKjEoIeoRYlrn
If you do identify as Hmong American, I hope that you will want to participate in my study. Or, if you are not interested, please forward my e-mail to anyone you believe would be interested.

Finally, please let me know if you have any questions. My e-mail is Vinh.Nguyen@utexas.edu. I thank you in advance for your consideration in helping me bring attention to a very understudied and underserved college student population in the U.S., especially in Texas.

Note: The Institutional Review Board at The University of Texas at Austin has approved my study.

E-mail to Student, Campus, Civic, or Community Organization Contacts

Dear <Organization Contact>:

I am a Ph.D. student in the Higher Education Leadership program at the University of Texas at Austin. I am writing to recruit students from your organization to participate in my study on the career development of Southeast Asian American (e.g., Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, Vietnamese) college students. I am interested in current students as well as recent college graduates (no more than 12 months after graduation). If you are aware of anyone who would be interested in sharing with me their life experience, please forward my contact information to them or forward their contact information to me.

In addition, if you would like me to speak with your members to help them understand the purpose of my study so that they can understand how to participate in the study, please let me know, and I will make time to attend your meeting.

Finally, I thank you in advance for your helping me conduct research on a very understudied and underserved student population on U.S. college campuses.

Note: The Institutional Review Board at The University of Texas at Austin has approved my study.

E-mail to Referred Participants

Dear <Prospective Participant>:

I am a Ph.D. student in the Higher Education Leadership program at the University of Texas at Austin. <<Organizational Contact> recommended that I contact you for a study that I am conducting on the career development of Southeast Asian American (e.g., Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, Vietnamese) college students. I am excited about an opportunity to learn from your life experience.

Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary, meaning that you may refuse to respond to any questions and end your participation at any time. If you volunteer to participate, I will set up two (2) one-on-one interviews (in person or through Skype, Zoom, FaceBook, whichever you prefer). I will keep the identifies or and information from participants confidential. In fact, participants will only be referred to by their pseudonym (your choice of book, cartoon, TV, or superhero character) when I report data.

If you would like to participate in this study, please respond to this e-mail or contact me using my phone number. Upon completion of the interviews, I would like to provide you with a $10 Amazon or Starbucks (your choice) gift card.

Finally, I thank you in advance for your consideration on helping me conduct research on a very understudied and underserved student population on U.S. college campuses.

Note: The Institutional Review Board at The University of Texas at Austin has approved my study.

Appendix B: IRB Consent Form for Participants

IRB USE ONLY
Study Number: TBA
Approval Date: TBA
Expires: TBA

Identification of Researcher and Purpose of Study
You have been invited to participate in a research study titled Career Development of Southeast Asian American College Students: Parental, Familial, Institutional, Peer and Model Minority Myth Influences. The researcher who will conduct this study is Vinh T. Nguyen, 1912 Speedway, #310, Austin, TX 78712-1604, (123) 456-7890, Vinh.Nguyen@utexas.edu.

The purpose of this research is to study the career development of current college students and recent college graduates who self-identify as Southeast Asian Americans (e.g., Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, Vietnamese). Your participation in the study will further the understanding of an understudied and underserved population on U.S. college campuses. You may contact me at the address and phone number above should you have questions about the study. Finally, you must be at least 18 years of age to be a participant.

I will enroll up to 15 participants for the study. When you agree to participate, I will ask you to complete the following:

- A pre-first interview (multiple choice) questionnaire about your background as a Southeast Asian American college student.
- Participate in two (2) 90-minute, audio-recorded, one-on-one interviews with the researcher to learn about your life experiences as it relates to your career development (e.g., career interests, choice, performance).

Risks/Benefits/Data Confidentiality
There are no known risks for participation. However, if you express distress of any kind, I will provide you with information for accessing psychological or counseling resources.

If you are selected to interview and complete both interviews, I will offer you a $10 Amazon or Starbucks gift card after the second interview. This is the only compensation that will earn from your participation.

Your participation will be confidential. Only I and transcriber(s) will have access to your name and information, and we will have access to this information only during the data collection portion of the study. Furthermore, a pseudonym (your choice of book, cartoon, TV, or superhero character) will take the place of your name on any materials pertaining to the study. Only the pseudonym will be used to label the audio-video recordings, to store on a secure, cloud-based platform (UT Box); and, only the researcher will have access to the stored data. After the transcription process, I will destroy the stored audio-video recordings. Furthermore, any data that is identifiable to you will be destroyed one year after the study ends.

Finally, should it be necessary for the Institutional Review Board at The University of Texas at Austin to review records of this study, the data that is connected to you will be protected in accordance with the law. Unless the law requires it, your records in this study will not be release without your consent. In addition, if the data resulting from your participation is released to other researchers, no individual identifiers will be released that identify you or your participation in this or any future study.

Exceptions to confidentiality: Harm to self or others and child/elder abuse.
Under certain situations, I may break confidentiality. If during the study, I learn about child or elder abuse or neglect, or that someone is a clear, serious, and direct harm to self or others, I may report the information to the appropriate authorities, including the police, the Texas Department of Family and Protective Services, and/or an emergency medical facility.

Participation or Withdrawal
Since participation is voluntary, you may decline to response to any question and may withdrawal your participation at any time.

Contacts
If you have questions regarding this study or need to update your contact information, please contact me at Vinh.Nguyen@utexas.edu or (123) 456-7890.

If you have questions regarding your rights as a participant or is dissatisfied with your experience in the research study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu. (512) 471-8871. You may choose to anonymously report your complaint. The IRB number for this study is ####-##-####.

f you are interested and agree to participant in this study, click on this link (https://utexas.qualtrics.com/....).

Thank you,

Vinh T. Nguyen
Vinh.Nguyen@utexas.edu

Print a copy of this document for your records.

Appendix C: Pre-Interview Questionnaire for Participant Selection Consideration

1. Please provide your chosen first name.

2. E-mail Address

3. Phone

4. Select the nation from which your *parents* were born.

Cambodia	Lao	Vietnam	United States of America	None of the Above	I do not know.

5. Select the nation from which your *grandparents* were born.

Cambodia	Laos	Vietnam	United States of America	None of the Above	I do not know.

6. Select the nation from which *you* were born.

Cambodia	Laos	Vietnam	United States of America	None of the Above	I do not know.

7. If you were not born in the United States of America (U.S.), when did you arrive in the U.S.?

Before 5 years of age	5-12 years of age	13 years of age or older	I do not know.	This question does not apply to me because I was born in the U.S.

8. Select ALL of the ethnicities with which you identify.

American	Cambodian	Cham	Chinese	Hmong	Mien/Iu Mien/Mienh	Khmer	Khumu	Lao/Laotian	Lahu	Vietnamese

9. If there are additional ethnicities with which you identify, please input them below:

10. Select ALL of the gender(s) with which you identify.

Female	Male

11. If there are additional gender(s) with which you identify, please input them below:

12. Did you graduate from a high school in Texas?

No	Yes

13. Where are you attending your undergraduate or graduate program of study?

In the State of Texas	Out of the State of Texas

14.

What is the highest educational degree that your *mother* attained?

Elementary Education or Earlier	High School Diploma or General Educational Development (GED)	Bachelor's (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.S.N.)	Master's (e.g., M.P.A., M.Ed.)	Professional Terminal Degree (e.g., M.B.A., M.S.W.)	Doctoral (e.g., J.D., M.D., Ph.D.)	None of the Above/ I Don't Know

15.

What is the highest educational degree that your *father* attained?

Elementary Education or Earlier	High School Diploma or General Educational Development (GED)	Bachelor's (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.S.N.)	Master's (e.g., M.Ed., M.P.A.)	Professional Terminal Degree (e.g., M.B.A., M.S.W.)	Doctoral (e.g., J.D., M.D.)	None of the Above/ I Don't Know

16.

What is the highest educational degree that *you* have attained?

High School Diploma or General Educational Development (GED)	Bachelor's (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.S.N.)	Master's (e.g., M.Ed., M.P.A.)	Professional Terminal Degree (e.g., M.B.A., M.S.W.)	Doctoral Doctoral (e.g., J.D., M.D., Ph.D.)

17. What is the kind of degree program for which you are currently enrolled?

Bachelor's (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.S.N.)	Master's (e.g., M.Ed., M.P.A.)	Professional Terminal Degree (e.g., M.B.A., M.S.W.)	Doctoral Doctoral (e.g., J.D., M.D., Ph.D.)

18. What is the major, focus, or concentration of the degree for which you are pursuing?

19. Where are in your degree plan?

Freshmen	Sophomore	Junior	Senior	Graduate Student	Alumni: I completed my undergraduate or graduate degree plan.

20. If you selected "Alumni" in response to the question above, indicate when you graduated from your program.

6 months ago	12 months ago	More than 12 months ago

20. If you selected "Alumni" in response to the question above, indicate when you graduated from your program.

6 months ago	12 months ago	More than 12 months ago

21. Are or were you studying on a student visa (e.g., F, J, M)?

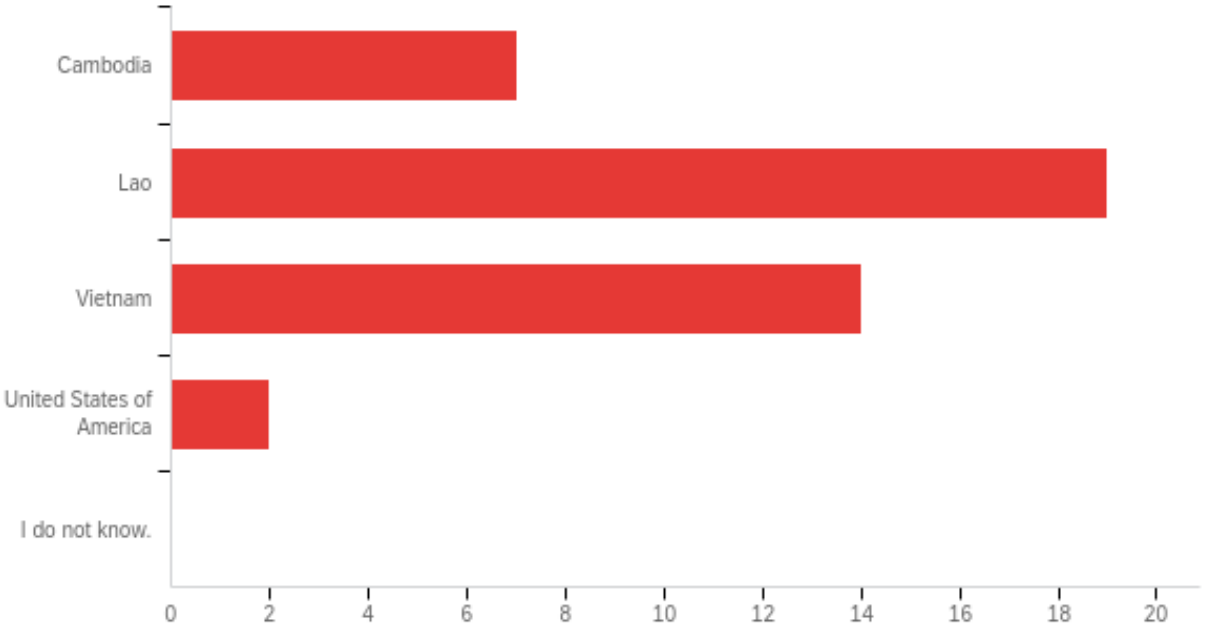
No	Yes

Q23. **Please feel free to leave me a message or comments.**
Thanks.

-Vinh T. Nguyen

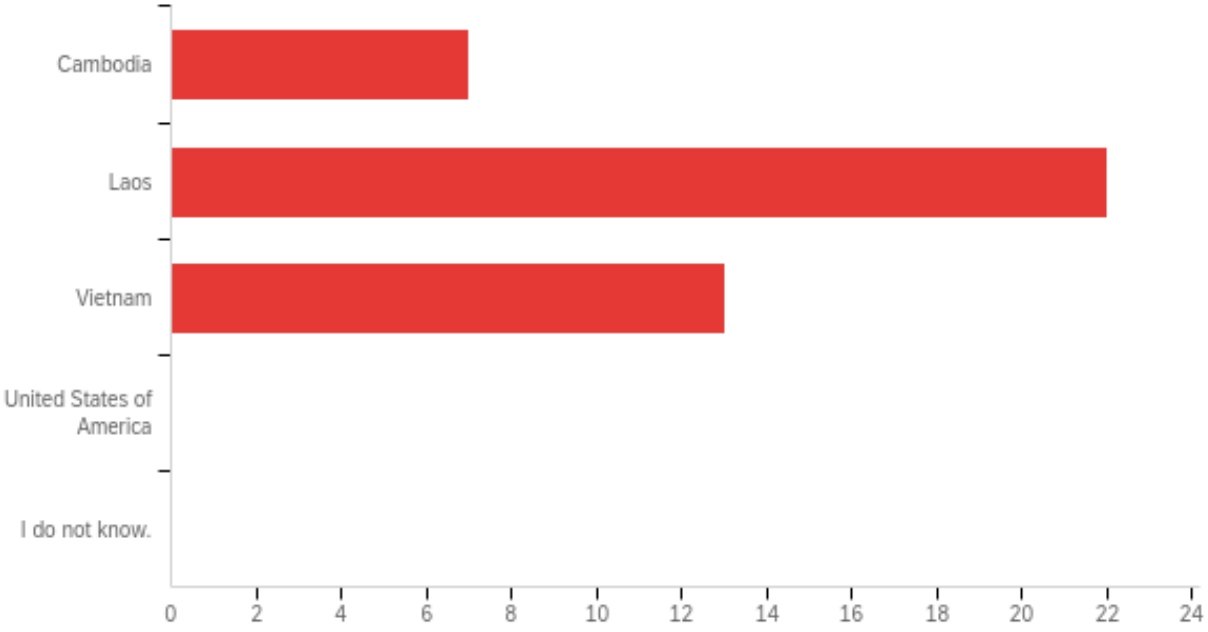
Appendix D: Pre-Interview Questionnaire Demographic Statistics

4 - Select the nation from which your parents were born.



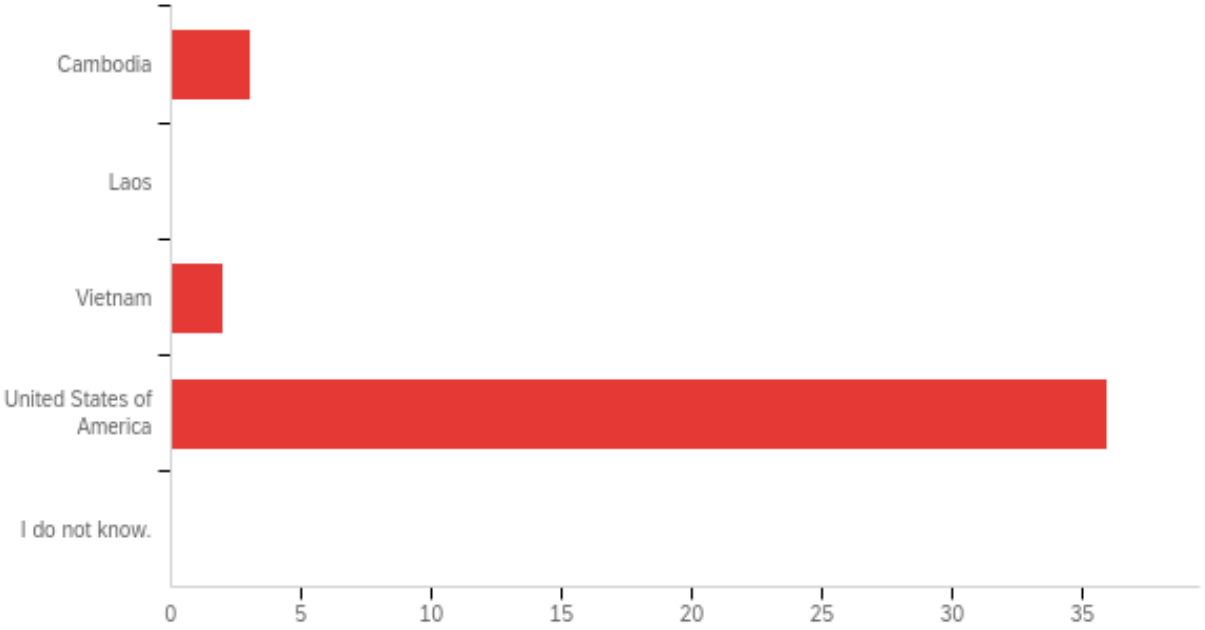
Answer	%	n
Cambodia	16.67%	7
Lao	45.24%	19
Vietnam	33.33%	14
United States of America	4.76%	2
I do not know.	0.00%	0
Total	100%	42

5 - Select the nation from which your grandparents were born.



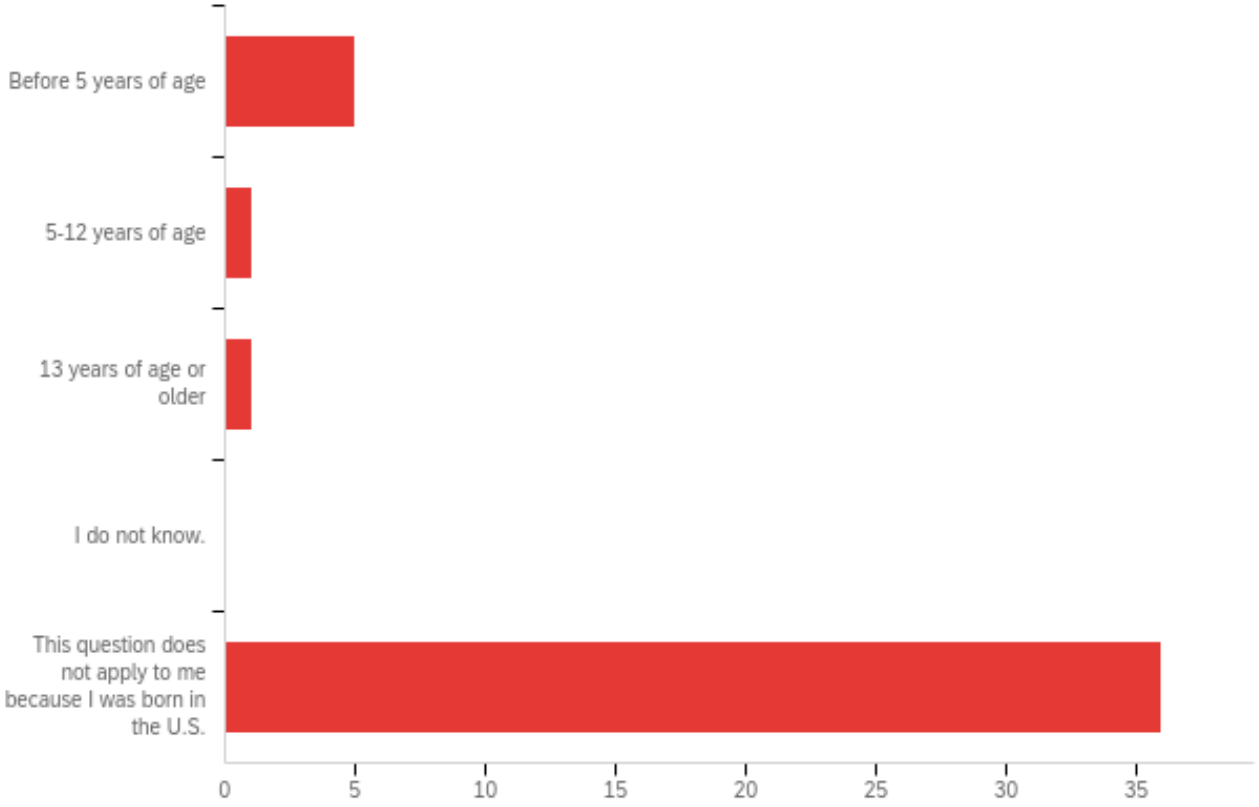
Answer	%	n
Cambodia	16.67%	7
Laos	52.38%	22
Vietnam	30.95%	13
United States of America	0.00%	0
I do not know.	0.00%	0
Total	100%	42

6 - Select the nation from which you were born.



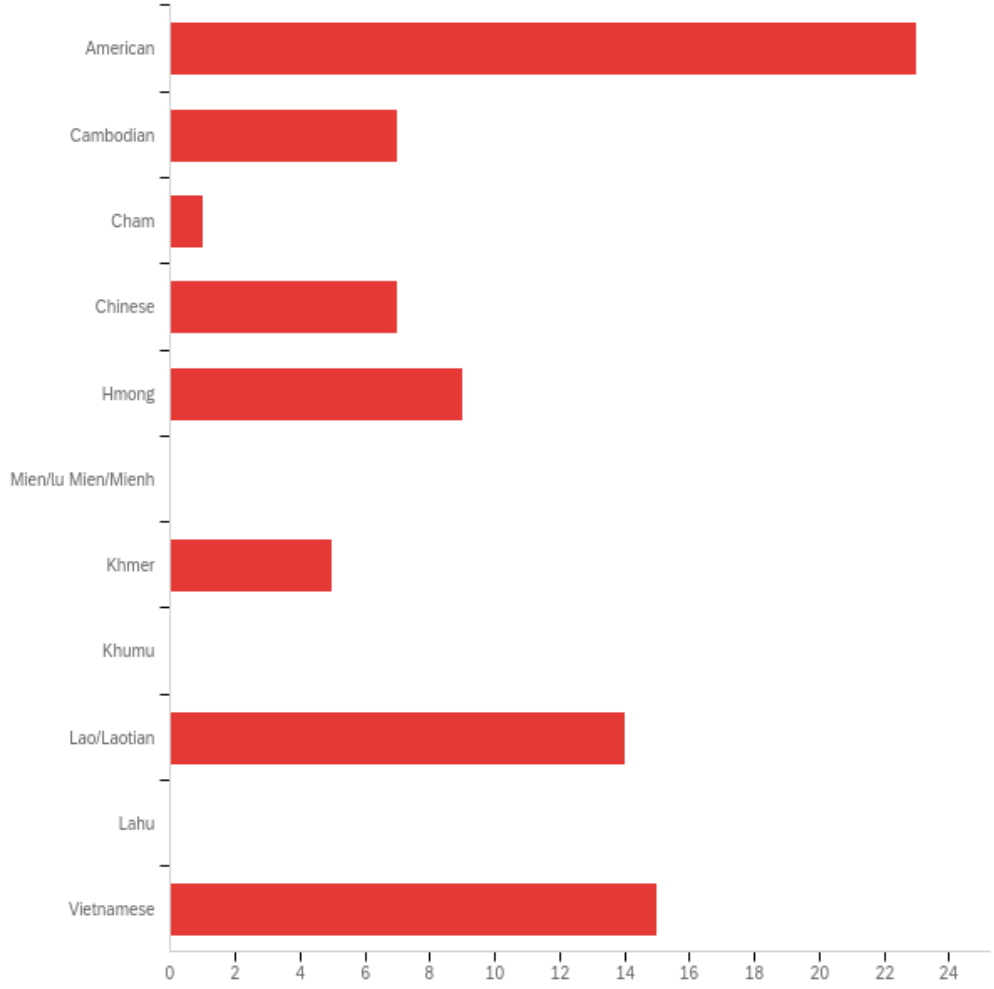
Answer	%	n
Cambodia	7.32%	3
Laos	0.00%	0
Vietnam	4.88%	2
United States of America	87.80%	36
I do not know.	0.00%	0
Total	100%	41

7 - If you were not born in the United States of America (U.S.), when did you arrive in the U.S.?



Answer	%	n
Before 5 years of age	11.63%	5
5-12 years of age	2.33%	1
13 years of age or older	2.33%	1
I do not know.	0.00%	0
This question does not apply to me because I was born in the U.S.	83.72%	36
Total	100%	43

8 - Select ALL of the ethnicities with which you identify.

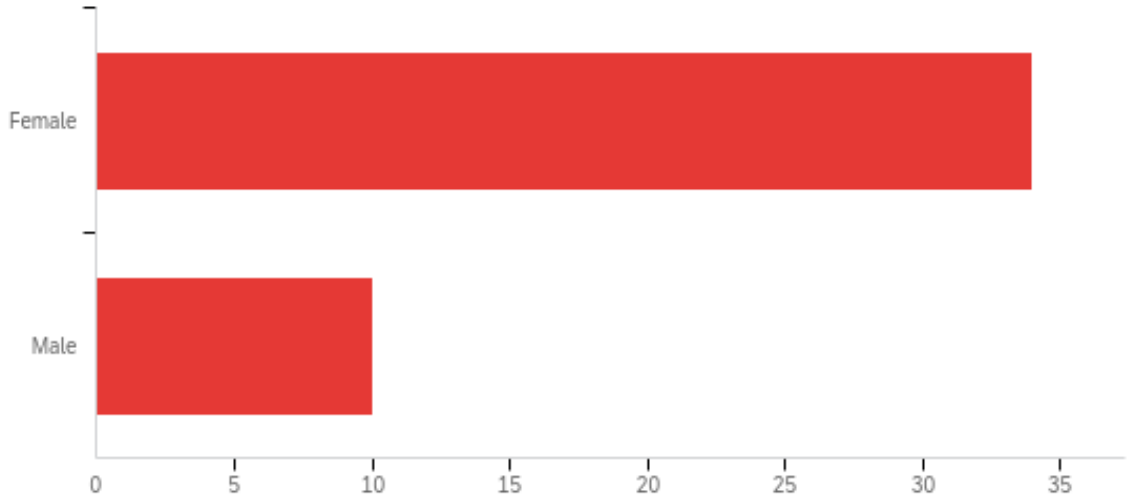


Answer	%	n
American	28.40%	23
Cambodian	8.64%	7
Cham	1.23%	1
Chinese	8.64%	7
Hmong	11.11%	9
Mien/lu Mien/Mienh	0.00%	0
Khmer	6.17%	5
Khumu	0.00%	0
Lao/Laotian	17.28%	14
Lahu	0.00%	0
Vietnamese	18.52%	15
Total	100%	81

9 - If there are additional ethnicities with which you identify, please input them below:

If there are additional ethnicities with which you identify, please input them below:
Teochew
Korean
I am also part Thai.

10 - Select ALL of the gender(s) with which you identify.

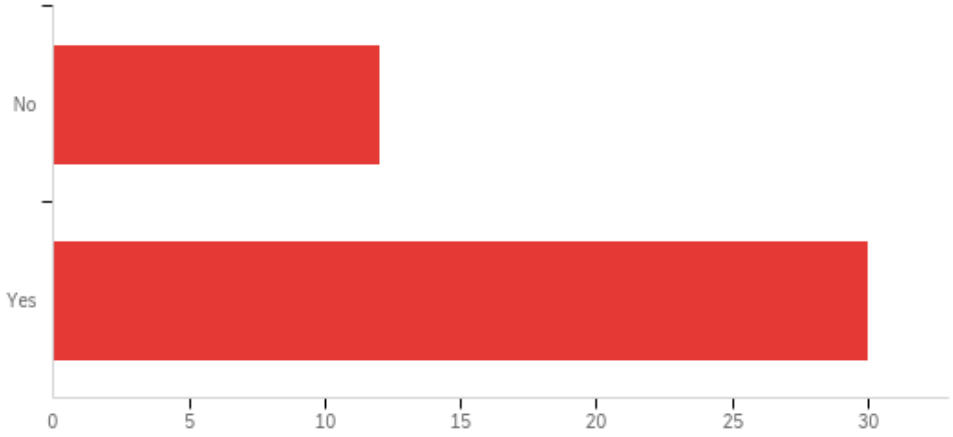


Answer	%	n
Female	77.27%	34
Male	22.73%	10
Total	100%	44

11 - If there are additional gender(s) with which you identify, please input them below:

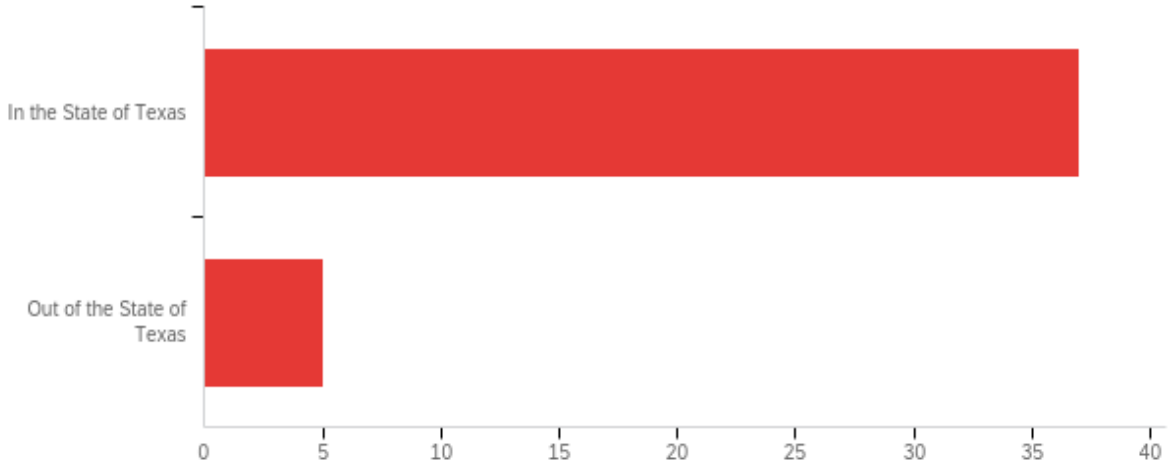
non-binary, gender non-conforming, genderqueer
Gender Nonconforming

12 - Did you graduate from a high school in Texas?



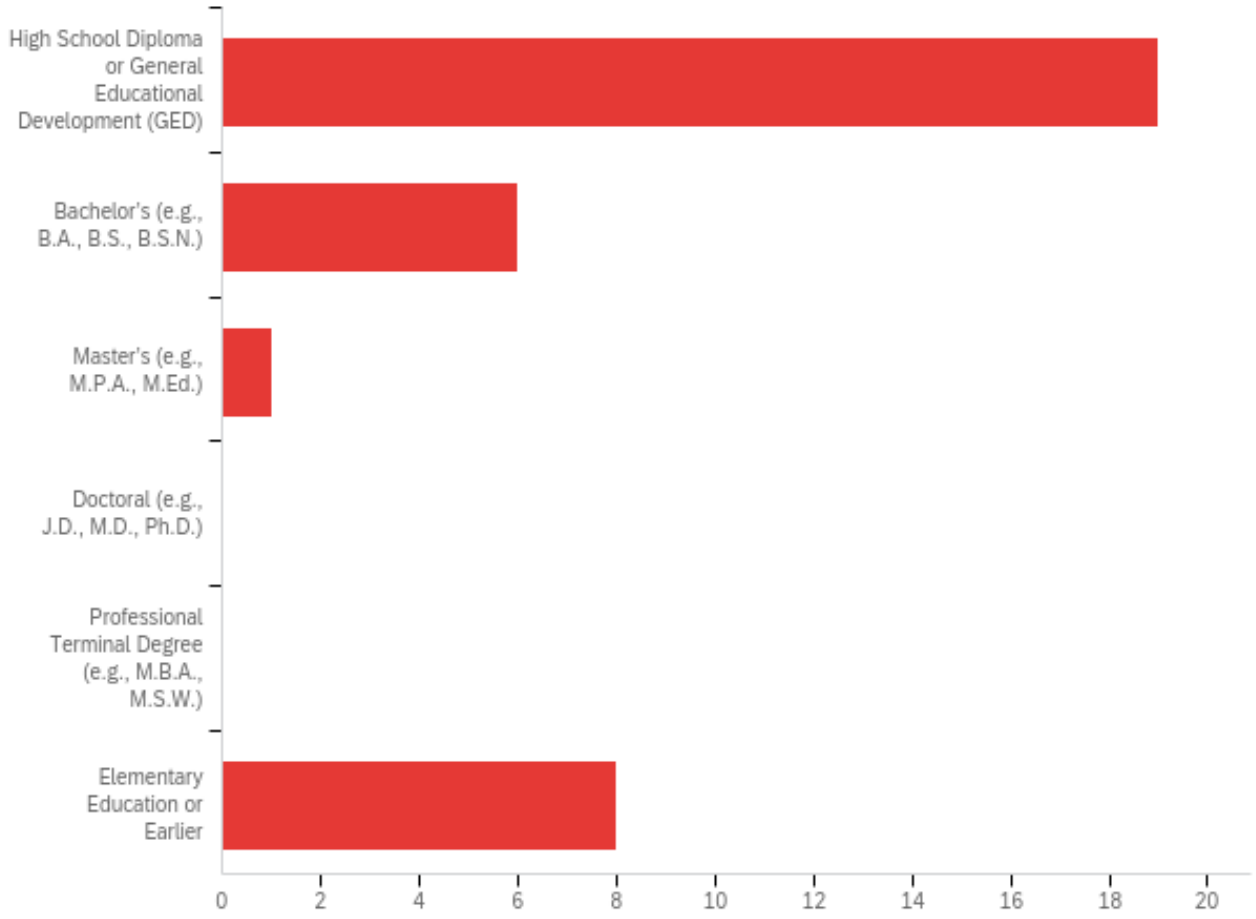
Answer	%	n
No	28.57%	12
Yes	71.43%	30
Total	100%	42

13 - Where are you attending your undergraduate or graduate program of study?



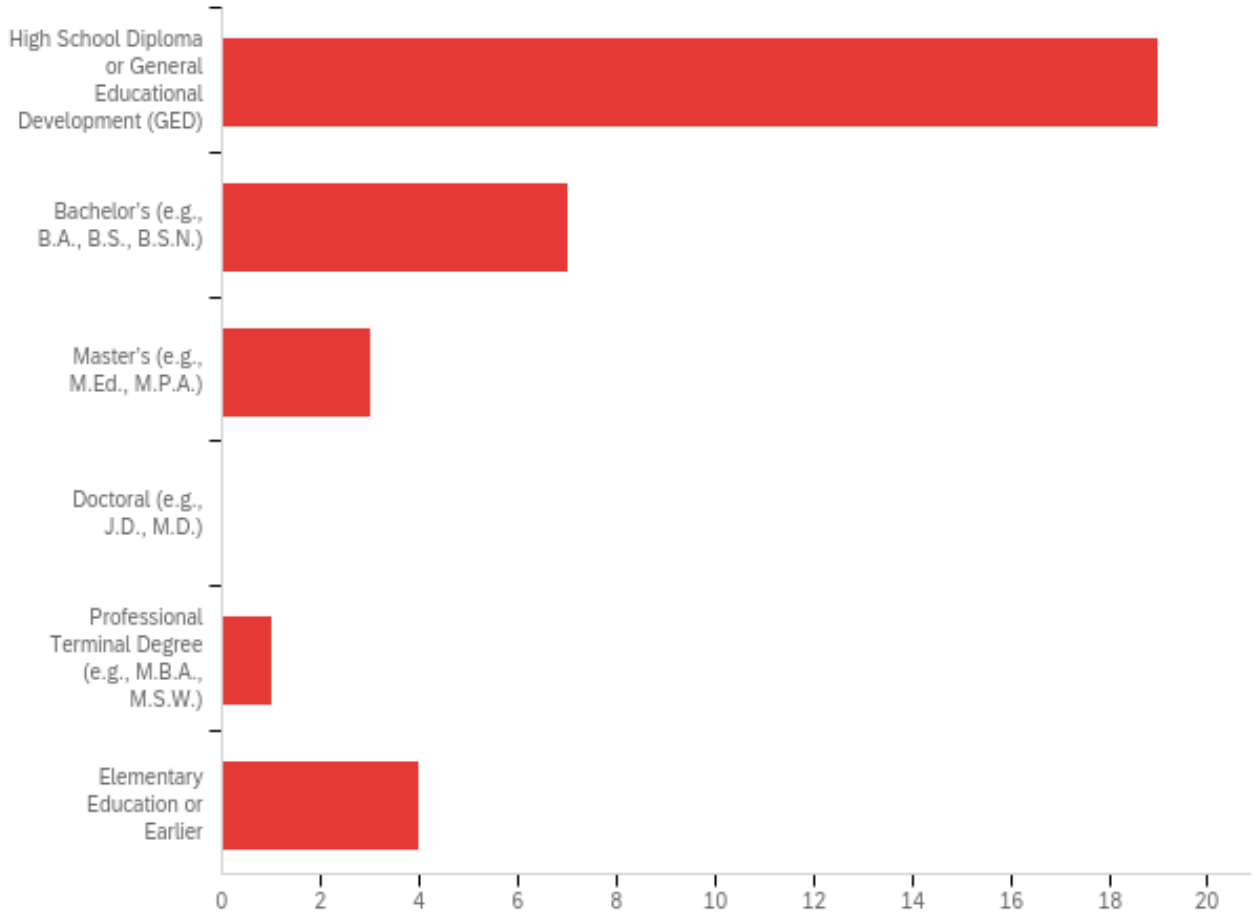
Answer	%	n
In the State of Texas	88.10%	37
Out of the State of Texas	11.90%	5
Total	100%	42

14 - What is the highest educational degree that your mother attained?



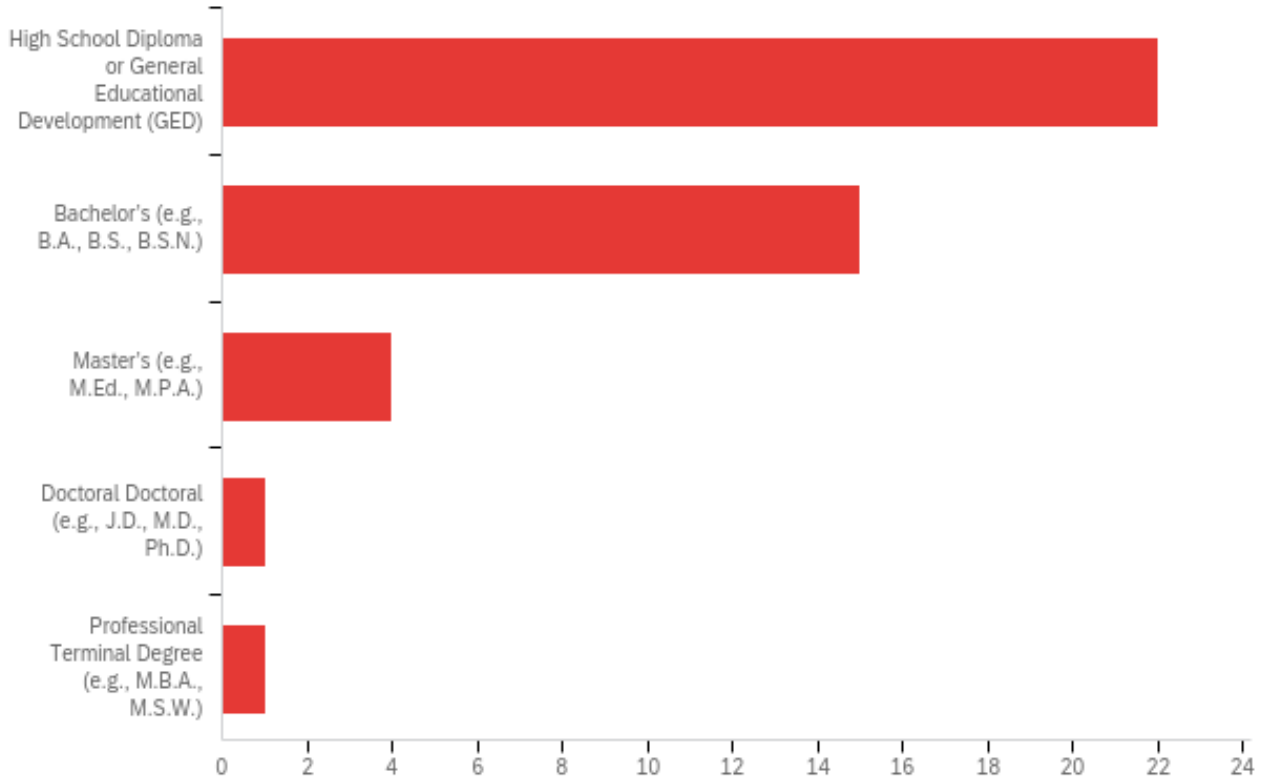
Answer	%	n
High School Diploma or General Educational Development (GED)	55.88%	19
Bachelor's (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.S.N.)	17.65%	6
Master's (e.g., M.P.A., M.Ed.)	2.94%	1
Doctoral (e.g., J.D., M.D., Ph.D.)	0.00%	0
Professional Terminal Degree (e.g., M.B.A., M.S.W.)	0.00%	0
Elementary Education or Earlier	23.53%	8
Total	100%	34

15 - What is the highest educational degree that your father attained?



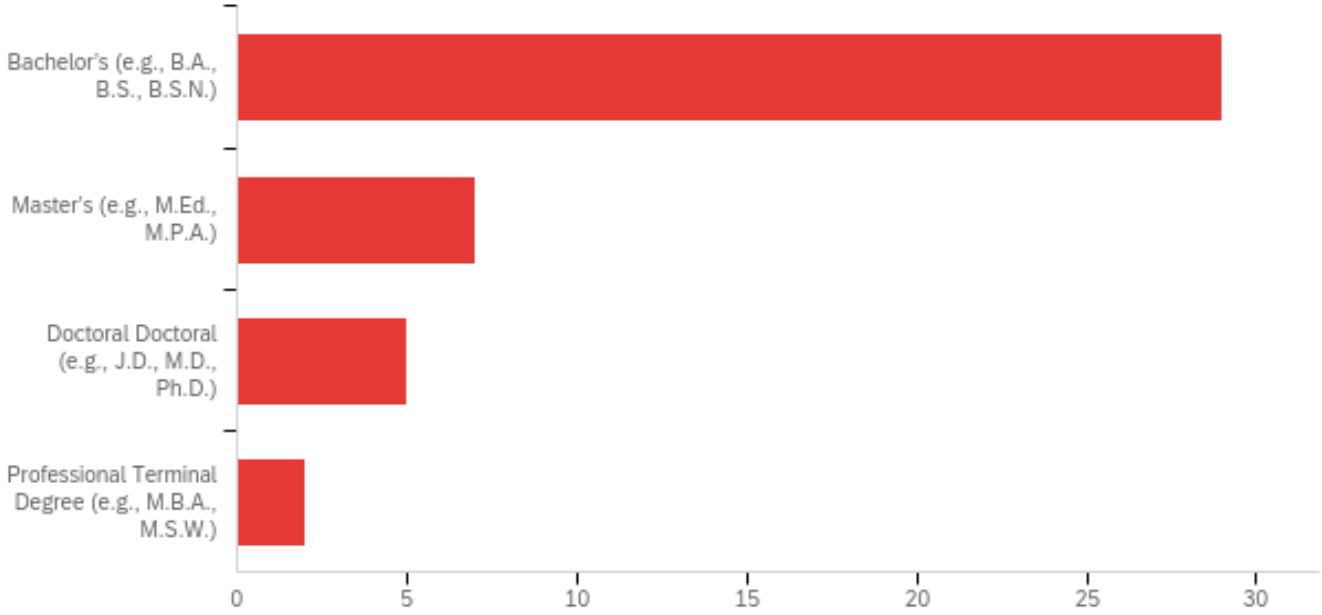
Answer	%	n
High School Diploma or General Educational Development (GED)	55.88%	19
Bachelor's (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.S.N.)	20.59%	7
Master's (e.g., M.Ed., M.P.A.)	8.82%	3
Doctoral (e.g., J.D., M.D.)	0.00%	0
Professional Terminal Degree (e.g., M.B.A., M.S.W.)	2.94%	1
Elementary Education or Earlier	11.76%	4
Total	100%	34

16 - What is the highest educational degree that you have attained?



Answer	%	n
High School Diploma or General Educational Development (GED)	51.16%	22
Bachelor's (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.S.N.)	34.88%	15
Master's (e.g., M.Ed., M.P.A.)	9.30%	4
Doctoral (e.g., J.D., M.D., Ph.D.)	2.33%	1
Professional Terminal Degree (e.g., M.B.A., M.S.W.)	2.33%	1
Total	100%	43

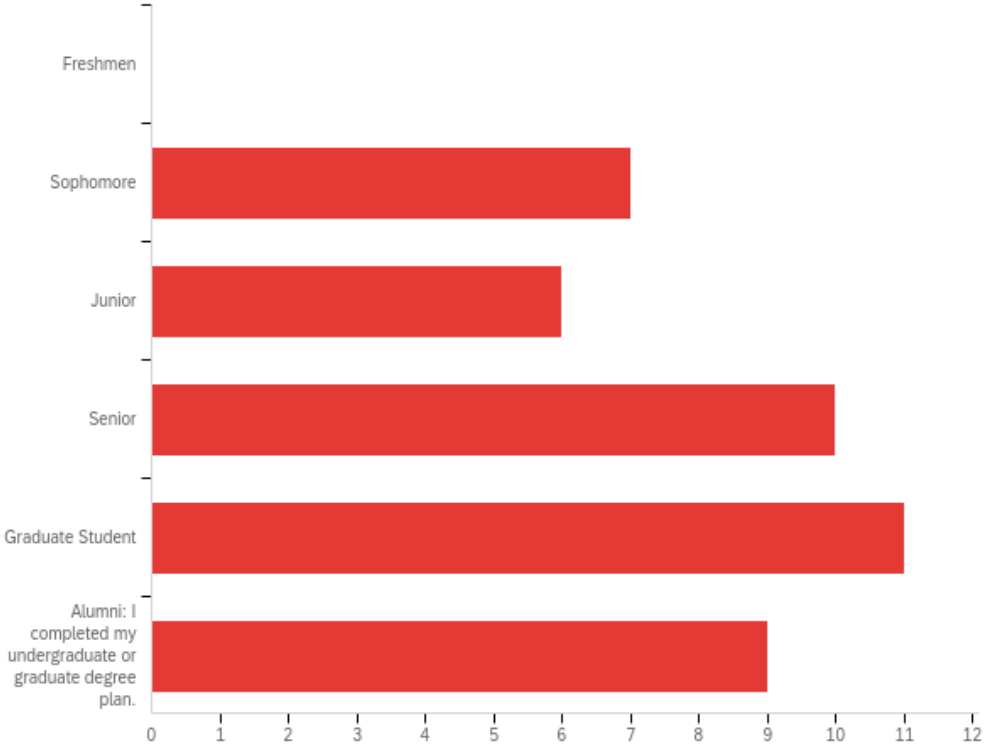
17 - What is the kind of degree program for which you are currently enrolled?



Answer	%	n
Bachelor's (e.g., B.A., B.S., B.S.N.)	67.44%	29
Master's (e.g., M.Ed., M.P.A.)	16.28%	7
Doctoral (e.g., J.D., M.D., Ph.D.)	11.63%	5
Professional Terminal Degree (e.g., M.B.A., M.S.W.)	4.65%	2
Total	100%	43

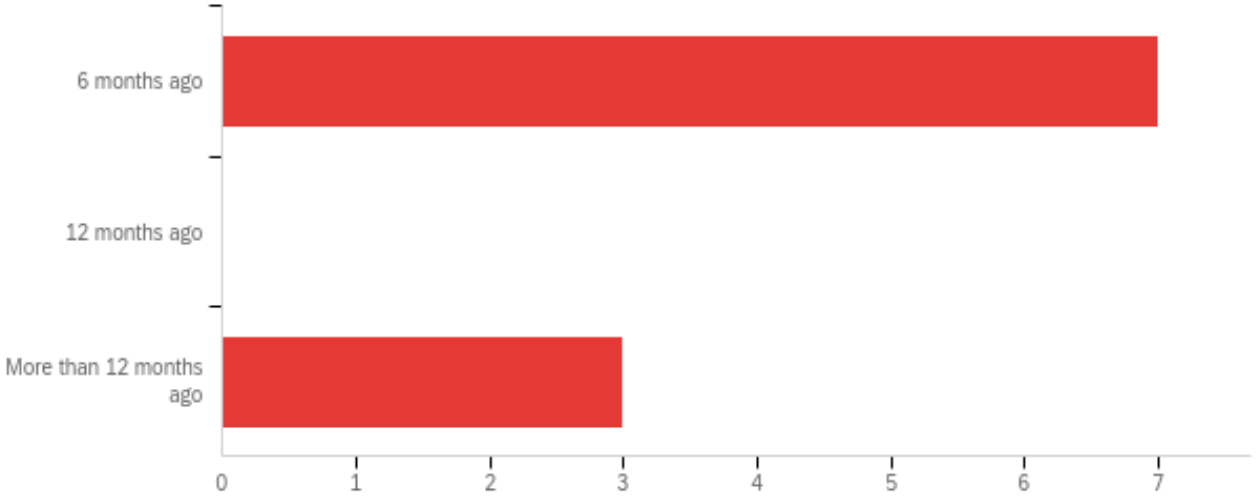
18 - What is the major, focus, or concentration of the degree for which you are pursuing?
Biomedical engineering
Human Resources
Biomedical Sciences
Pharmacy
Health Promotion
Early Childhood Development and Business
Biomedical Engineering
Information Science
Journalism
Biology, Pre-Pharmacy
HR Management
General Business
Electrical and computer engineering
Pharmacy
Arts and Entertainment Technologies, emphasis in Music and Sound
I'm currently enrolled at University as a community health major minoring in psychology. I'm following the pre-nursing route.
Education
Computer Science
Accounting
Computational Chemistry
Nursing
Psychology
Educational Leadership - Ph.D
Economics
M.A. Cultural Studies in Education
Architecture/Interior Design
Human Dimensions of Organizations
Advertising
Multimedia and Entertainment Technology
International Relations and Global Studies Korean Language and Culture East Asian Studies
Nursing
Business
Masters of information security and risk management
B.S in Communication Sciences, Political Communications B.A. in Ethnic Studies, Asian-American Studies
Business Administration with a focus in Supply Chain Management
Double major psychology and sociology and double minor French studies and business
Sociology
Radio-Television-Film
Psychology, Philosophy
Nursing
Doctor of Osteopathic Medicine
Masters of Art in Biomedical Sciences

19 - Where are in your degree plan?



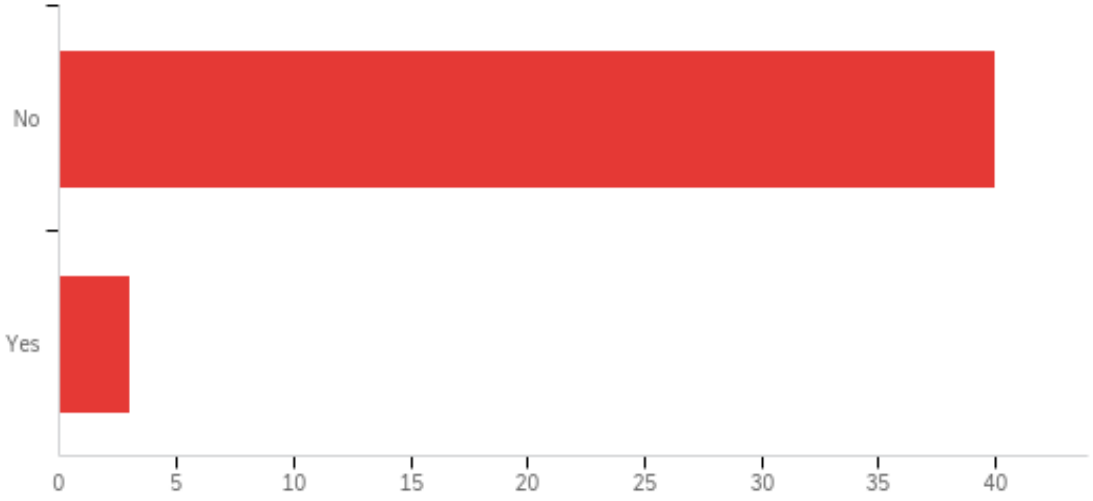
Answer	%	n
Freshmen	0.00%	0
Sophomore	16.28%	7
Junior	13.95%	6
Senior	23.26%	10
Graduate Student	25.58%	11
Alumni: I completed my undergraduate or graduate degree plan.	20.93%	9
Total	100%	43

20 - If you selected "Alumni" in response to the question above, indicate when you graduated from your program.



Answer	%	n
6 months ago	70.00%	7
12 months ago	0.00%	0
More than 12 months ago	30.00%	3
Total	100%	10

21 – Are/were you studying on a student visa (e.g., F, J, M)?



Answer	%	n
No	93.02%	40
Yes	6.98%	3
Total	100%	43

Appendix E: Interview Schedule

Interview I Questions: Focused Life History-The Past

- Tell me about your *past* life up until the time you became a college student. Share your experiences as they relate to your career development (e.g., choice, interest, goals, performance).
  - What role (if any) do the following people have played in your career development?
    - *parents*, *family* (e.g., siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents)
    - *peers* (e.g., friends, classmates, peers)
    - *institutional agents* (e.g., administrators, faculty, staff)
  - What role (if any) have *racial stereotypes*, particularly the *model minority myth*, played in your career development?
- What *barriers* (if any) to your career development (e.g., interest, choice, goals, performance) have you experienced in the past (up to now)?

Interview Two Questions: The Present and The Future & Their Meanings

- Details of Lived Experiences
    - Tell me about your lived experience—your actions, observations, sights, sounds, feelings—that influences your career development (e.g., choice, interest, goals, performance) in your *present* life as an undergraduate, graduate, or recent alumni.
        - How are your *parents* influencing (if any) your career development (e.g., interest, choice, goals, performance)?
        - How are your *family* (e.g., siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, grandparents) influencing (if any) your career development (e.g., interest, choice, goals, performance)?
        - How are *institutional agents* (e.g., administrators, faculty, staff) influencing (if any) your career development (e.g., interest, choice, goals, performance)?
        - How are *racial stereotypes, particularly the model minority stereotype,* influencing (if any) your career development (e.g., interest, choice, goals, performance)?
    - What barriers to your career development (e.g., interest, choice, goals, performance) do you perceive to experience in the *present*?
    - What barriers to your career development (e.g., interest, choice, goals, performance) do you perceive to experience in the *future*?
- Reflection on the Meaning of Lived Experiences

- What did ABC (naming a particular experience) experience that you mentioned in the first interview or in the second interview mean to you?
- Thinking back to what you shared with me about your life history in the first interview and your experience as an undergraduate/graduate/alumni, what does your career development (e.g., choice, interest, goals, performance) *mean* to you?
- What does our career development mean to you in the context of where *you have been* and *where you are headed*?
- What do the barriers (if any) in your career development mean to you?

Appendix F: Reflexive Journal Template

Reflection Date:
Pseudonym:
1st or 2nd Interview:

Participant Profile		
Participant's Birth Place	Parents Birth Place	Grandparents Birth Place
Arrived in U.S.	Ethnicity Self-Identified	Gender Self-Identified
Participant Education • Current Status • Current Degree Program • Undergraduate Institution Location • Undergraduate Major • High School Location		Parent Education • Mother • Father
Comments:		

Methodology					
The participant appeared at ease.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undetermined	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Comments:					
This interview surprised me.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undetermined	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Comments:					

This interview concerned me.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undetermined	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Comments:					

Positionality					
At least one of my interview questions displayed my assumptions, whether implicit or explicit, about career development of Southeast Asian American college students that were counter to the lived experiences of the participant.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undetermined	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Comments:					

Additional Comments

Appendix G: Codes & Code Definitions

AFD-Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress DECREASER

Lived experiences that decreases the anxiety, fear, guilt, pressure, shame, stigma, or stress for the participant.

AFI-Anxiety, Fear, Guilt, Pressure, Shame, Stigma, Stress INCREASER

Lived experiences that increases the anxiety, fear, guilt, pressure, shame, stigma, or stress for the participant.

AGG-Aggregation of Asian Americans

Lived experience relating to the aggregation of Asian American data.

ART-Arts & Liberal Arts Professions

Lived experience pertaining to arts and liberal arts professions.

BLM-Black Lives Matter Movement

Lived experience pertaining to the Black Lives Matter movement.

BOE-Birth Order Eldest

Lived experience pertaining to being the eldest child in their nuclear family.

CAA-Community Asian American

Lived experience relating to the Asian American Community.

CAM-Choice of Academic Major

Lived experience pertaining to their choice of academic major.

CCH-Career Change

Lived experience pertaining to their change of career.

CCT-Career Clarity

Lived experience that brought clarity to their career development.

CDM-Career Decision-Making Complexities

Lived experience relating to the complexity and balance that the participant must consider in making their career decision-making process.

CFR-College as Freedom

Participant perceived that attending college provided them with a sense of freedom from something.

CIC-Career Interest Consonance

Lived experience of participant who had an alignment between their career interest and/or choice and others who are influential in their lives.

CID-Career Interest Dissonance

Lived experience of participant who did not have an alignment between their career interest and/or choice and others who are influential in their lives.

CLC-Closeted Career Interest

Lived experience of participant who hid and/or is hiding their career interest, career exploration, and/or choice from others (e.g., parents, family, community).

COC-Choice of Careers

Lived experience pertaining to participant's choice of careers.

COE-Community Ethnic

Lived experience pertaining to the influence of participant's ethnic community on their career development.

COM-Collectivistic Mindset

Lived experience pertaining to the influence of collectivistic mindset on career development.

COM-Comparison & Competition

Lived experience relating to competition and comparison between them and others (e.g., extended family, peers).

CON-Colonialism

Lived experience pertaining to colonialism.

COU-Career Unfamiliarity

Lived experience pertaining to the unfamiliarity of others (e.g., parents, family, peers, community) on the career interests and/or choices of the participant.

CPA-Career Performance Asset

Lived experiences that are/were assets to the career performance of the participant.

CPC-Career Performance Challenge

Lived experiences that are/were assets to the career performance of the participant.

CRP-Career Persistence

Lived experiences that contributed to the participant's persistence in their career.

DDF-"Diversity" Definition

Lived experiences pertaining to how higher education institution's definition of diversity influenced the career development of participant.

ECB-Economic Challenges

Lived experience pertaining to the economic conditions that challenge the career development of participant.

ECE-Exploration of Careers Enhancer

Lived experiences that enhanced the participant's career exploration.

ECN-Emotional Connection

Participant perceived that a lived experience made them felt emotionally connected to others (e.g., parents, family, peers, community).

ECR-Exploration of Careers Reducer

Lived experiences that reduced the participant's career exploration.

EDS-Expectations Dissonance

Lived experiences that represented dissonance between the expectations of the participants and of others (e.g., parents, family, community, society).

EIA-Ethnic Identity Association

Lived experience that influences the participant to identify with an ethnic identity.

EID-Ethnic Identity Disassociation

Lived experience relating to a participant disassociates themselves from an ethnic identity for the purpose of developing their career.

EII-Ethnic Identity Influences

Lived experience relating to a participant disassociates themselves from an ethnic identity for the purpose of developing their career.

EMD-Emotional Disconnection

Participant perceived that a lived experience made them felt emotionally disconnected to others (e.g., parents, family, peers, community).

EMP-Employment Probability

Instances when the participant discussed the probability that they would be employed because of their career development.

EOC-Exploration of Careers

Participant discussed the topic of exploring careers.

EPC-Expectations Consonance

Lived experiences that represented consonance between the expectations of the participants and of others (e.g., parents, family, community, society).

FAC-Face, Honor, Prestige, Reputation, Respect, Social Status

Participant discussed the topic of face, Honor, prestige, reputation, respect, and/or social status for themselves and/or for others (e.g., parents, family, community).

FAM-Family Influence

Participant discussed the influence that their extended family has on their career development.

○ **FEC-Extended Family Career Experience**

Participant discussed the career development experiences of their extended family.

FGCS-First-Generation College Student

Instances where participant shared their first-generation college student identity

FNF-Financial Freedom

Participant discussed the influence that financial freedom has on their career development

FNS-Financial Stability
GDS-Gender Discrimination Systemic
GEN-Gender Roles
HAP-Happiness Defined
HEE-Higher Education Experiences
HEN-Higher Education Not Valued Over Work
HEV-Higher Education Valued Over Work
IAC-Institutional Agents in College
IAG-Individual Agency
IAP-Institutional Agents in PK-12
IDP-Individual Dreams and Passion

This code represents instances that the participant shared their individual career dreams and passions.

IMP-Implicit Influence
IMS-Individualistic Mindset
IOI-Intersectionality of Identities
IPS-Imposter Syndrome
IRE-Immigrant Resettlement Experiences
ITT-Intergenerational Trauma
IWN-Intergenerational Wealth & Network
IWV-Ideological World View
KSL-Knowledge of Networks & Systems
LAC-Language Challenges

This code indicates the participant's perception that their language abilities were/are challenges to their relations with others (e.g., parents, institutional agents) and/or their career development.

LAW-Law Profession

LFC-Love for Offspring
LFE-Love for Family Extended
LFS-Love for Siblings
LOC-Love for Community
LOP-Love for Parents
LOU-Love without Understanding
MAW-Money & Wealth
MCC-Minority in Chosen Career
MCD-Meaning of Career Development

This code signifies instances that the participant shared their thoughts on he meaning of their career development.

MED-Medical Doctor Profession
MES-Mentor, Exampler, Supervisor Influence
MHL-Mental Health Lived Experience & Recognition
MHU-Mental Health Unhealthy
MHY-Mental Health Healthy
MIC-Microaggressions
MMM-Model Minority Myth
NCC-Non-Asian Communities of Color Negative Impact
OTH-Otherized & Perpetual Foreigner
OUT-Outcast & Self-Exiled
P12-Peers from PK-12 Influence
P16-Peers from College Influence
PAP-Parental Approval & Pride
PAR-Parental Influence
PEC-Parent Education & Career Experience

[Define Meaning of Code. Operational Definition of Code]
All said about the context or background of parent's career

PRF-Proof As Good as Boys
PSI-Partner or Spouse Influence
PVH-Profession v Hobby or Passion

This code represents the participant's thoughts as they compared and/or contrast the similarities and/or differences between a profession and a hobby and/or a passion.

RAI-Racism Internalized
RAS-Racism Systemic
REP-Representation
RRE-Refugee Resettlement Experiences
RSO-Resource Access & Opportunities
SEG-Segregation Profession
SEX-Sexuality Identification
SFL-STEM or Failure
SIB-Siblings

SMN-Survival Mindset
SOC-Social Challenges

This code indicates the participant's perception that their social condition were/are a challenge their career development.

SOF-Social Fitting In
SRN-Stereotype Racial No Negative Impact
SRU-Stereotype Racial Presence Unawareness
STG-Stereotype Gender
STM-STEM Professions
STR-Stereotype Ethnicity SEAA
STR-Stereotype Racial
STT-Stereotype Threats
SUC-"Successful" Defined
SUP-Success Probability/Possibility
TRE-Traditions & Elders
VNW-Vietnam War

Comments from participants about the context or background of parent's experience as refugees of the Vietnam War

References

Allen, J., & Robbins, S. (2008). Prediction of college major persistence based on vocational interests, academic preparation, and first-year academic performance. *Research in Higher Education*, 49(1), 62-79. doi:10.1007/s11162-007-9064-5

Anderson, D. L. (2011). *The Columbia history of the Vietnam War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ashraf, R., Godbey, J. M., Shrikhande, M. M., & Widman, T. A. (2018). Student motivation and perseverance: Do they explain college graduation? *Journal of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning*, *18*(3). doi: 10.14434/ josotl.v18i3.22649

Assalone, A. E., & Fann, A. (2016). Understanding the Influence of Model Minority Stereotypes on Asian American Community College Students. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice, 41*(7), 422-435. doi:10.1080/10668926.2016.1195305

Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE). (2007, December 14). ASHE Announces the formation of a new Institute on Equity Research Methods and Critical Policy Analysis [Blog post]. Retrieved from American Association for Access, Equity, and Diversity (AAAED) website: https://affirmact.blogspot.com/2007/12/ashe-announces-formation-of-new.html?m=0

Atieno, O. P. (2009). An analysis of the strengths and limitation of qualitative and quantitative research paradigms. *Problems of Education in the 21st Century*, *13*, 13-18.

Atkin, A. L., Yoo, H. C., Jager, J., & Yeh, C. J. (2018). Internalization of the model minority myth, school racial composition, and psychological distress among Asian American adolescents. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, *9*(2), 108–116. https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/10.1037/aap0000096

Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, 84, 191–215.

Bandura, A. (1986). Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Bandura, A. (1986b). The explanatory and predictive scope of self-efficacy theory. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *4*, 359-373. https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.1986.4.3.359

Bankston, C. L. (1995). Gender roles and scholastic performance among adolescent Vietnamese women: The paradox of ethnic patriarchy. *Sociological Focus*, 28(2), 161–176. *Vocational Behavior, 105*, 102-115. doi:10.1016/j.jvb.2017.10.011

Barringer, H., Gardner, R., & Levin, M. (1993). Immigration, size and growth, nativity, and citizenship. In *Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States* (pp. 19-51). Russell Sage Foundation. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/stable/10.7758/9781610440264.7

Borrego, M., Knight, D. B., Gibbs, K., & Crede, E. (2018). Pursuing graduate study: Factors underlying undergraduate engineering students' decisions. *Journal of Engineering Education, 107*(1), 140-163. doi:10.1002/jee.20185

Bound, J., Lovenheim, M. F., & Turner, S. (2010). Why have college completion rates declined?: An analysis of changing student preparation and collegiate resources. *American Economic Journal. Applied Economics, 2*(3), 129;157;-157. doi:10.1257/app.2.3.129

Brown, D., Minor, CW., & Jepsen, D.A. (1991). The opinions of minorities about preparing for work: Report of the second NCDA National Survey. *Career Development Quarterly*, 40, 5-19.

Brown, S. D., & Lent, R. W. (Eds.). (2013). *Career development and counseling: Putting theory and research to work*. Retrieved from https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu

Brown, D. L., & Segrist, D. (2017). African American Career Aspirations. *Journal of Career Development, 43*(2), 177-189. doi:10.1177/0894845315586256

Brown, S. D., & Lent, R. W. (2017). Social cognitive career theory in a diverse world: Closing thoughts. *Journal of Career Assessment*, *25*(1), 173–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/1069072716660061

Brydolf, C. (2009). Getting real about the 'model minority': Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders fight their stereotype. *The Education Digest*, 74(5), 37.

Byars-Winston, A. (2006). Racial ideology in predicting social cognitive career variables for Black undergraduates. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 69, 134-148.

Byars-Winston, A., Estrada, U., Howard, C., Davis, D. & Zalapa, J. (2010). Influence of social cognitive and ethnic variables on academic goals of underrepresented students in science and engineering: A multiple-group analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 57, 205-218.

Carpi, A., Ronan, D. M., Falconer, H. M., & Lents, N. H. (2017). Cultivating minority scientists:

Undergraduate research increases self-efficacy and career ambitions for underrepresented students in STEM. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching, 54*(2), 169-194. doi:10.1002/tea.21341

Chan, S. (2004). *Survivors: Cambodian refugees in the United States.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Chang, M. J., Park, J. J., Lin, M. H., & Nakanishi, D. T. (2007). *Beyond myths: The growth and diversity of Asian American college freshmen, 1971-2005*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Higher Education Research Institute.

Chang, M. J. (2008). Asian evasion: A recipe for flawed resolutions. *Diverse Issues in Higher Education, 25*(7), 26-26.

Chhuon, V., Hudley, C., Brenner, M. E., & Macias, R. (2010). The multiple worlds of successful Cambodian American students. *Urban Education*, 45(1), 30-57.

Chiang, A., Fisher, J., Collins, W., & Ting, M. (2015). (Mis)Labeled: The challenge of academic capital formation for Hmong American high school students in an urban setting. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement*, *1*(10), 1-35. https://doi.org/10.7771/2153-8999.1118

Chickering, A. W., & Reisser, L. (1993). *Education and identity* (2nd ed.) San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Ching, D., & Agbayani, A. (2012). Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in higher education: Research and perspectives on identity, leadership, and success. Washington, DC: NASPA Foundation.

Chongsuvivatwong, V., Phua, K. H., Yap, M. T., Pocock, N. S., Hashim, J. H., Chhem, R., . . . Lopez, A. D. (2011). Health in Southeast Asia 1: Health and health-care systems in Southeast Asia: Diversity and transitions. *The Lancet, 377*(9763), 429.

Chou, R. S., & Feagin, J. R. (2010). *The myth of the model minority: Asian Americans facing racism*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.

Chung, R. C., Bemak, F., & Kagawa-Singer, M. (1998). Gender differences in psychological distress among Southeast Asian Refugees. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 186(2), 112-119.

College Entrance Examination Board. (1980). *National college-bound seniors*, 1980. Princeton, NJ: Author.

Conley, D. T., & McGaughy, C. (2012). College and career readiness: Same or different. *Educational Leadership*, 69(7), 28–34.

Creswell, J. W. (2013). Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, Calif.: Sage.

Crotty, M. (2013). The foundations of social research meaning and perspective in the research process. London: SAGE.

de Brey, C., Musu, L., McFarland, J., Wilkinson-Flicker, S., Diliberti, M., Zhang, A., Branstetter, C., and Wang, X. (2019). Status and trends in the education of racial and ethnic groups 2018 (NCES 2019-038). U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved [date] from https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/

Dennis, J. M., Phinney, J. S., & Chuateco, L. I. (2005). The role of motivation, parental support, and peer support in the academic success of ethnic minority first-generation college students. *Journal of College Student Development, 46*(3), 223-236. doi:10.1353/csd.2005.0023

Dickinson, J., Abrams, M. D., & Tokar, D. M. (2017). An examination of the applicability of social cognitive career theory for African American College Students. *Journal of Career Assessment, 25*(1), 75-92. doi:10.1177/1069072716658648

Dinh, K., Weinstein, T. L., Kim, S. Y., & Ho, I. K. (2008). Acculturative and Psychosocial Predictors of Academic-Related Outcomes among Cambodian American High School Students. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement, 3*(1). doi:10.7771/2153-8999.1102

Do, A. (2018, December 15). Vietnamese Americans rally in Little Saigon against Trump administration's push to deport thousands of war refugees . *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from https://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/ la-me-ln-vietnamese-refugee-march-20181215-story.html

Duffy, R. D., & Dik, B. J. (2009). Beyond the self: External influences in the career development process. *The Career Development Quarterly, 58*(1), 29-43. Retrieved from http://ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/docview/219449314?accountid=7118

Dutta, A., Kang, H., Kaya, C., Benton, S. F., Sharp, S. E., Chan, F., . . . Kundu, M. (2015). Social-Cognitive Career Theory predictors of STEM career interests and goal persistence in minority college students with disabilities: A path analysis. *Journal of Vocational Rehabilitation, 43*(2), 159-167. doi:10.3233/jvr-150765

Firpo, C. (2010). Crisis of Whiteness and empire in colonial Indochina: The removal of abandoned Eurasian children from the Vietnamese milieu, 1890-1956. *Journal of Social History*, 43(3), 587-613. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/stable/20685426

Flores, L. Y., & O'Brien, K. M. (2002). The career development of Mexican American adolescent women: A test of social cognitive career theory. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 49, 14–27.

Flores, L. Y., Navarro, R. L., & DeWitz, S. (2008). Mexican American high school students' postsecondary educational goals applying social cognitive career theory. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 16, 489–501.

Flores, L. Y., Navarro, R. L., & Ali, S. R. (2017). The state of SCCT research in relation to social class. *Journal of Career Assessment, 25*(1), 6-23. doi:10.1177/1069072716658649

Fouad, N. A., & Kantamneni, N. (2013). The role of race and ethnicity in career choice, development and adjustment. In. S. D. Brown & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Career development and counseling: Putting theory and research to work* (2nd ed, pp. 215-243). New York: Wiley.

Fouad, N. A., & Santana, M. C. (2017). SCCT and underrepresented populations in STEM fields. *Journal of Career Assessment, 25*(1), 24-39. doi:10.1177/1069072716658324

Fouad, N. A., Kantamneni, N., Smothers, M. K., Chen, Y.-L., Fitzpatrick, M., & Terry, S. (2008). Asian American career development: A qualitative analysis. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *72*, 43-59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2007.10.002

Gainor, K. A., & Lent, R. W. (1998). Social cognitive expectations and racial identity attitudes in predicting the math choice. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 45, 403.

Gainsborough, M. (2012). Elites vs. reform in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. *Journal of Democracy, 23*(2), 34-46. doi:10.1353/jod.2012.0024

Garriott, P. O., Flores, L. Y., & Martens, M. P. (2013). Predicting the math/science career goals of low-income prospective first-generation college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 60*(2), 200-209. doi:10.1037/a0032074

Gibbons, M. M., & Borders, L. D. (2010). Prospective first-Generation college students: A

social-cognitive perspective. *The Career Development Quarterly, 58*(3), 194-208. doi:10.1002/j.2161-0045.2010.tb00186.x

Goscha, C. (2010). 'Hell in a Very Small Place' Cold War and decolonisation in the assault on the Vietnamese body at Dien Bien Phu. *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 9(2), 201-223. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/stable/23615371

Hall, J. A. (1987). Parent–adolescent conflict: An empirical review. *Adolescence*, 22, 767–789.

Han, M. (2006). Relationship among perceived trauma, attachment, and sense of coherence in Southeast Asian American late adolescents. *Journal of Family Social Work*, 9, 25–45.

Hannah, N. B. (1987). *The key to failure: Laos and the Vietnam war*. Madison.

Hays, D. G., & Singh, A. A. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry in clinical and educational settings.* New York: Guilford Press.

Her, C. S. (2014). Ready or not: The academic college readiness of Southeast Asian Americans. *Multicultural Perspectives*, *16*(1), 35-42. doi:10.1080/15210960.2014.872938

Ho, D. Y. F. (1986). Chinese patterns of socialization: A critical review. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The psychology of the Chinese people* (pp. 1–37). Hong Kong: Oxford University.

Hoang, C. V. (1964). From colonialism to communism: A case history of North Vietnam. New York, NY: Frederick A. Praeger.

Hughes, R. (2015). Ordinary theatre and extraordinary law at the Khmer Rouge Tribunal. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 33(4), 714-731. doi:10.1177/0263775815598081

Hughes, A. N., & Gibbons, M. M. (2018). Understanding the career development of underprepared college students. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory & Practice*, *19*(4), 452-469. https://doi.org/10.1177/1521025116644262

Hui, K., Lent, R. W., & Miller, M. J. (2013). Social cognitive and cultural orientation predictors of well-being in Asian American college students. *Journal of Career Assessment, 21*(4), 587-598. doi:10.1177/1069072712475289

Hui, K., & Lent, R. W. (2018). The roles of family, culture, and social cognitive variables in the career interests and goals of Asian American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 65*(1), 98-109. doi:10.1037/cou0000235

Hull-Banks, E., Kurpius, S. E. R., Befort, C., Sollenberger, S., Nicpon, M. F., & Huser, L.

(2005). Career goals and retention-related factors among college freshmen. J*ournal of Career Development*, 32, 16–30. doi:10.1177/0894845305277037

Hurh, W. M., & Kim, K. C. (1989). The success image of Asian Americans: Its validity, and its practical and theoretical implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studie*s, 12(4), 512–538.

Ignatiev, N. (2012). *How the Irish became White*. Taylor and Francis.

Jang, S. T. (2018). The implications of intersectionality on Southeast Asian female students' educational outcomes in the United States: A critical quantitative intersectionality analysis. *American Educational Research Journal, 55*(6), 1268-1306. doi:10.3102/0002831218777225

Janse, O. R. (1944). *The peoples of French Indochina*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Jennings, E. T. (2012). *Imperial heights: Dalat and the making and undoing of French Indochin*a. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Johnson, P. J. (1998). Performance of household tasks by Vietnamese and Laotian refugees. *Journal of Family Issues*, 19(3), 245–273.

Juntunen, C.L., Ali, S.R., & Pietrantonio, K.R. (2013). Social class, poverty, and career development. In. S. D. Brown & R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Career development and counseling: Putting theory and research to work* (2nd ed, pp. 215-243). New York: Wiley.

Kantamneni, N., Dharmalingam, K., Orley, G., & Kanagasingam, S. K. (2018). Cultural Factors, Perceived Barriers, and Asian American Career Development. *Journal of Career Assessment, 26*(4), 649-665. doi:10.1177/1069072717723097

Kiang, P. N. (2004). Checking Southeast Asian American realities in Pan-Asian American agendas. *AAPI Nexus: Policy, Practice and Community, 2*(1), 48-76. doi:10.17953/appc.2.1.x43057655h126717

Kiang, P.N. (2008). Crouching activists, hidden scholars: Reflections on research and development with students and communities in Asian American Studies. In C.R. Hale (Ed.), *Engaging contradictions: Theory, politics, and methods of activist scholarship* (pp.299-318). Berkeley: CA. University of California Press.

Kibria, N. (1993). *Family tightrope: The changing lives of Vietnamese Americans*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Kim, C. J. (1999). The racial triangulation of Asian Americans. *Politics & Society, 27*(1), 105-138. doi:10.1177/0032329299027001005

Kim, C. J., & Lee, T. (2001). Interracial politics: Asian Americans and other communities of

color. *Political Science & Politics, 34*(03), 631-637. doi:10.1017/s1049096501000993

Kim, C. (2004). Unyielding positions: A critique of the 'race' debate. *Ethnicities, 4*(3), 337-355. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/stable/23889369

Kim, Y. H., & Choi, N. (2018). Career decision self-efficacy of Asian American students: The role of curiosity and ethnic identity. *The Career Development Quarterly, 67*(1), 32-46. doi:10.1002/cdq.12161

King, R. C. (2000). Racialization, recognition, and rights: Lumping and splitting multiracial Asian Americans in the 2000 census. *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 3(2), 191-121. doi:10.1353/jaas.2000.0017

Kitano, H. H., & Daniels, R. (1995). *Asian Americans: Emerging minorities*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Kodama, C. M., & Huynh, J. (2017). Academic and career Development: Rethinking advising for Asian American students. In *New Directions for Student Services* (Vol. 160, pp. 51-63). Wiley Periodicals, Inc. https://doi.org/10.1002/ss.20243

Komarraju, M., Swanson, J., & Nadler, D. (2014). Increased career self-efficacy predicts college students' motivation, and course and major satisfaction. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 22(3), 420–432. https://doi.org/10.1177/1069072713498484

Lam, T. B. (2003). Colonialism experienced: Vietnamese writings on colonialism, 1900-1931. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.

Lancaster, D. (1961). *The emancipation of French Indochina*. New York: Octagon Books.

Langdridge, D. (2012). *Phenomenological psychology: Theory, research and method*. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Prentice-Hall.

Lau, A. S., Jernewall, N. M., Zane, N., & Myers, H. F. (2002). Correlates of suicidal behavior among Asian American outpatient youths. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 8, 199–213.

Laverty, S. M. (2003). Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations. International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 21–35. https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690300200303

Lawton, J. T., Schuler, S. G., Fowell, N., & Madsen, M. K. (1984). Parents' perceptions of actual and ideal child-rearing practices. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 145, 77–87.

Lee, S.J. (1997). The road to college: Hmong American women's pursuit of higher education. *Harvard Educational Review*, 67, 803827.

Lee, S. J., Wong, N.-W. A., & Alvarez, A. N. (2009). The model minority and perpetual foreigner: Stereotypes of Asian Americans. In N. Tewari, & A. N. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives* (pp. 69-84). New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Lee, E. (2015). A part and apart: Asian American and immigration history. *Journal of American Ethnic History, 34*(4), 28-42. doi:10.5406/jamerethnhist.34.4.0028

Lee, D. M., Duesbery, L., Han, P. P., Tashi, T., Her, C. S., & Pang, V. O. (2017). Academic needs and family factors in the education of Southeast Asian American students: Dismantling the model minority myth. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement, 12*(2). doi:10.7771/2153-8999.1154

Lent, R. W., Brown, S. D., & Hackett, G. (1994). Toward a unifying Social Cognitive Theory of career and academic interest, choice, and performance. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 45*(1), 79-122. doi:10.1006/jvbe.1994.1027

Lent, R. W., Brown, S. D., & Hackett, G. (2000). Contextual supports and barriers to career choice: A social cognitive analysis. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 47*(1), 36-49. doi:10.1037//0022-0167.47.1.36

Lent, R. W., Brown, S. D., & Hackett, G. (2002). Social cognitive career theory. In D. Brown & Associates (Ed.). *Career choice and development* (pp. 255–311). (4th ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lent, R. W. (2005). A social cognitive view of career development and counseling. In S. D. Brown & R. T. Lent (Eds.), *Career development and counseling: Putting theory and research to work* (pp. 101–127). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Lent, R. W., Brown, S. D., Sheu, H.-B., Schmidt, J., Brenner, B. R., Gloster, C. S., … Treistman, D. (2005). Social cognitive predictors of academic interests and goals in engineering: Utility for women and students at historically Black universities. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *52*(1), 84–92. https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/10.1037/0022-0167.52.1.84

Leong, F.T.L. (1985). Career development of Asian Americans. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 26, 539-546.

Leong, F. T. L., & Hayes, T. J. (1990). Occupational stereotyping of Asian Americans. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 39, 143–154.

Leong, F. T. L. & Serafica, F. C. (1995). Career development of Asian Americans: A research area in need of a good theory. In. F. T. L. Leong (Ed.), *Career development and vocational behavior of racial and ethnic minorities* (pp. 67-102). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Leong, F. T. L., & Hardin, E. E. (2002). Career psychology of Asian Americans: Cultural validity and cultural specify. In G. C. N. Hall & S. Okazaki (Eds.), *Asian American psychology: The science of lives in context* (pp. 131–152). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Leong, F. T. L., & Hardin, E. E. (2002). Career psychology of Asian Americans: Cultural validity and cultural specificity. In G. C. Nagayama Hall & S. Okazaki (Eds.), *Asian American Psychology: The science of lives in context* (pp. 131-200). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Leong, F. T. L., & Grand, J. A. (2008). Career and work implications of the model minority myth and other stereotypes for Asian Americans. In G. Li & L. Wang (Eds.), *Model minority myth revisited. An interdisciplinary approach to demystifying Asian American educational experiences* (pp. 91-115). Charlotte, NC: Information Age.

Leong, F. T.L., & Gupta, A. (2007). Career development and vocational behaviors of Asian Americans. In F. T.L. Leong, A. G. Inmann, A. Ebreo, L. H. Yang, L. Kinoshita, & M. Fu (Eds.), *Handbook of Asian American psychology* (2nd ed., pp. 159-178). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Leung, A.L. (2008). The big five career theories. In Athanasou, J. A., & Esbroeck, R. V. (Eds.), *International Handbook of Career Guidance* (115-132) Dordrecht: Springer.

Liu, C.H., Murakami, J., Eap, S., & Hall, G.C. (2009). Who are Asian Americans: An overview of history, immigration, and communities. In N. Tewari, & A. N. Alvarez (Eds.), *Asian American Psychology: Current Perspectives* (pp. 1-30). New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Lomperis, T. J. (2019, February 3). A trail of tears from Laos to Syria. *The Daily Times*. Retrieved from https://www.thedailytimes.com/columns/timothy_lomperis/a-trail-of-tears-from-laos-to-syria/article_cb8cd654-0106-5723-a5a9-d3f01a4fca6f.html

Lor, P., & Hutchison, R. (2017). Educational Careers of Hmong American Students. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement, 12*(1). doi:10.7771/2153-8999.1148

Lowinger, R., & Song, H. (2017). Factors associated with Asian American students' choice of STEM major. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice, 54*(4), 415-428. doi:10.1080/19496591.2017.1345754

Ma, Y. (2009). Family socioeconomic status, parental involvement, and college major choices: Gender, race/ethnic and nativity patterns. *Sociological Perspectives*, 52(2), 211–234. doi:10.1525/sop.2009.52.2.211

Maccoby, E., & Martin, J. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: Parent–child interaction. In E. M. Hetherington (Ed.), P. H. Musen (Series Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 4. Socialization, personality, and social development* (pp. 1–101). New York: Wiley.

Made, J. (2017, December 5). Hmong face military in Laos jungle in fallout from Vietnam war. Retrieved from http://en.rfi.fr/asia-pacific/20171204-anno-2017-vietnam-war-still-rages-secretly-laos-hmong.

Magen, Z. (1994). Good parents: Comparative studies of adolescents' perceptions. *Current Psychology*, 13(2), 172–184.

Maramba, D. C., & Palmer, R. T. (2014). The impact of cultural validation on the college experiences of Southeast Asian American students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 55(6), 515-530. doi:10.1353/csd.2014.0054

Maramba, D. C., Palmer, R. T., Kang, H., & Yull, D. (2018). An exploratory study of college choice for Southeast Asian American students. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, 55(2), 155-166. doi:10.1080/19496591.2017.1417130

Martin Lohfink, M. M., & Paulsen, M. B. (2005). Comparing the Determinants of Persistence for First-Generation and Continuing-Generation Students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 46(4), 409-428. doi:10.1353/csd.2005.0040

Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mau, W. J. (2004). Cultural dimensions of career decision-making difficulties. *Career Development Quarterly*, 53(1), 67-77.

Maverick, L. A. (1926). The vocational guidance of college students. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Maxwell, J. A. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

McClain-Reulle, L., & Xiong, K. (2005). Continuing the promise: Recruiting and preparing Hmong-American educators from Central Wisconsin. Hmong Studies Journal, 6, 116. Retrieved from http://hmongstudies.org/McClainandXiongHSJ6.pdf

McGee, E. O., Thakore, B. K., & Lablance, S. S. (2017). The burden of being "model": Racialized experiences of Asian STEM college students. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 10*(3), 253-270. doi:10.1037/dhe0000022

Meyer, K. & Willis, R. (2019). Looking back to move forward: The value of reflexive journaling for novice researchers. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 62(5), 578-585. doi: 10.1080/01634372.2018.1559906

Miller, E., & Vu, T. (2009). The Vietnam War as a Vietnamese War: Agency and society in the study of the Second Indochina War. *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, 4(3), 1-16. doi:10.1525/vs.2009.4.3.1

Minuchin, S. (1974). *Families and family therapy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Morrow, S. L. (2007). Qualitative research in counseling psychology: Conceptual foundations. *The Counseling Psychologist, 35*(2), 209-235. doi:10.1177/0011000006286990

Museus, S. D. (2009). A critical analysis of the exclusion of Asian American from higher education research and discourse. In L. Zhan (Ed.), *Asian American voices: Engaging, empowering, enabling* (pp. 59-76). New York, NY: NLN Press.

Museus, S. D. (2009b). Editor's notes. In L. S.D. Museus (Ed.), *Conducting research on Asian Americans in higher education. New Directions for Institutional Research* (no. 142). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Museus, S. D. (2014). *Asian American students in higher education*. New York: Routledge.

Museus, S. D., & Kiang, P.N. (2009). Deconstructing the model minority myth and how it contributes to the invisible minority reality in higher education. In S. D. Museus (Ed.), *Conducting research on Asian Americans in higher education: New directions for institutional researc*h, No. 142, 5-15.

Museus, S. D., Maramba, D. C., & Teranashi, R. T. (2013). The misrepresented minority: New insights on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and the implications for higher education. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, LLC.

Museus, S. D., & Vue, R. (2013). Socioeconomic status and Asian American and Pacific

Islander students transition to college: A structural equation modeling analysis. *The Review of Higher Education, 37*(1), 45-76. doi:10.1353/rhe.2013.0069

Museus, S. D. (2013b). Unpacking the Complex and multifaceted nature of parental influences on Southeast Asian American college students' educational trajectories. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 84(5), 708-738. doi:10.1353/jhe.2013.0031

Museus, S. D. (2014). *Asian American students in higher education*. New York: Routledge.

Museus, S. D., & Buenavista, T. L. (2016). *Invisible financial barriers to college access for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders*. Retrieved from Asian & Pacific Islander American Scholarship Fund website: http://www.apiasf.org/research/ARC_Report_2016.pdf

Museus, S. D., Shiroma, K., & Dizon, J. P. (2016). Cultural community connections and college success: An examination of Southeast Asian American college students. *Journal of College Student Development, 57*(5), 485-502. doi:10.1353/csd.2016.0064

Museus, S. D., & M. Mueller, M. K. (2018). Understanding how key institutional agents provide Southeast Asian American students with access to social capital in college. *Journal of College Student Development, 59*(2), 192-209. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2018.0017

Musu-Gillette, L., Robinson, J., McFarland, J., KewalRamani, A., Zhang, A., & Wilkinson-Flicker, S. (2016). *Status and trends in the education of racial and ethnic groups 2016*. (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics publication: NCES 2016-007). Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2016/2016007.pdf

National Center for Education Statistics. (2011). *Integrated postsecondary educational data system fall enrollment survey*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

National Geographic (Ed.). (n.d.). Asia: Physical geography . Retrieved November 15, 2019, from https://www.nationalgeographic.org/encyclopedia/asia/

Newsham, G. (2019). US abandonment of Kurds sends bad message to allies in East Asia. *Asia Times.* Retrieved from https://www.asiatimes.com/2018/12/article/us-abandonment-of-kurds-sends-bad-message-to-east-asia/

Ng, F. (2008). The Hmong community in the United States. In H. Ling (Ed.), *Emerging Voices: Experiences of Underrepresented Asian Americans* (pp. 236-253). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Ngo, B. (2006). Learning from the margins: The education of Southeast and South Asian Americans in context. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 9(1), 51-65. doi:10.1080/13613320500490721.

Ngo, B., & Lee, S. J. (2007). Complicating the image of model minority success: A review of Southeast Asian American education. *Review of Educational Research*, *77*(4), 415-453. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654307309918

Nguyen, L. T., & Henkin, A. B. (1981). Perceived sociocultural change among Indochinese refugees: Implications for education. In L. T. Nguyen & A. B. Henkin (Eds.), *Vietnamese refugee students: Legacies of an educational past* (pp. 156–171). Iowa City: National Center for Materials and Curriculum Development, University of Iowa.

Nguyen, K. T. (2012). Personal Sorrow: Cải Lương and the Politics of North and South Vietnam. *Asian Theatre Journa*l, 29(1), 255-275. doi:10.1353/atj.2012.0031

Nguyễn, C. K. (1978). *How we lost the Vietnam War*. New York: Stein and Day.

Nicassio. P. M . & Pate, J. K. (1984). An analysis of problem s of resettlement of the Indochinese refugees in the United States. *Social Psychiatry*, 19, 135-141.

Okay-Somerville, B., & Scholarios, D. (2014). Coping with career boundaries and boundary-crossing in the graduate labour market. *Career Development International*, *19*(6), 1-27.

Osajima, K. (1995). Racial politics and the invisibility of Asian Americans in higher education. *The Journal of Educational Foundations, 9*(1), 35.

Paguio, L. P., Skeen, P., & Robinson, B. E. (1989). Differences in perceptions of the ideal child among employed and nonemployed American and Filipino mothers. *Early Child Development and Care*, 50, 67–74.

Patel, S. G., Salahuddin, N. M., & Obrien, K. M. (2008). Career decision-making self-efficacy of Vietnamese Adolescents. *Journal of Career Development, 34*(3), 218-240. doi:10.1177/0894845307308488

Patton, W., & McMahon, M. (1999). *Career development and systems theory: A new relationship*. Pacific Grove (Calif.): Brooks/Cole.

Patton, W., & McMahon, M. (2006). Career development and systems theory: A new relationship. Rotterdam (Netherlands): Sense Publishers.

Patton, W., & McMahon, M. (2014). Career Development and Systems Theory Connecting Theory and Practice. Rotterdam: Sense.

Pfeifer, M.E. (2013). A demographic portrait. In M. E. Pfeifer, M. Chiu, & K. Yang (Eds.),

Diversity in Diaspora: Hmong Americans in the Twenty-First Century (pp. 54-65).

Phan, B. C. (1999). *Overturned chariot: The autobiography of Phan-Bôi-Châu* (S. Vĩnh & N. Wickenden, Trans.). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Phan, C. T. (2009). *Phan Châu Trinh and his political writings* (S. Vĩnh, Ed., S. Vĩnh, Trans.). Ithaca, N.Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.

Phommasa, M., Chhuon, V., & antonio, A. L. (2015). Expanding definitions of family: Influences on second-generation Lao American college students' aspirations. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement*, *10*(2), 1-17. http://dx.doi.org/10.7771/2153-8999.1133

Poon, O. (2014). "The Land of Opportunity Doesn't Apply to Everyone": The immigrant experience, race, and Asian American Career choices. *Journal of College Student Development*, *55*(6), 499-514. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2014.0056

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Qenani, E., MacDougall, N., & Sexton, C. (2014). An empirical study of self-perceived employability: Improving the prospects for student employment success in an uncertain environment. Active Learning in Higher Education, 15(3), 199–213. https://doi.org/10.1177/1469787414544875

Queirós, A., Faria, D., & Almeida, F. (2017). Strengths and limitations of qualitative and quantitative research methods. *European Journal of Education Studies*, *3*(9), 369-387.

Raina, M. K., Kumar, G., & Raina, V. K. (1980). A cross-cultural study of parental perception of the ideal child. *The Creative Child and Adult Quarterly*, 5(4), 234–241.

Reagan, R. W. (1984, February 23). Remarks at a Meeting With Asian and Pacific-American Leaders [Speech transcript]. Retrieved August 31, 2019, from website: https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/research/speeches/22384a

Reeves, T. J., & Bennett, C. E. (2004). We the people: Asians in the United States (Census 2000 Special Reports). Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved from: http://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/censr-17.pdf

Reyes, A. (2007). Language, identity, and stereotype among Southeast Asian American youth: The other Asian. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Roberts, C. M. (2010). *The Dissertation Journey*. Corwin Press.

Rumbaut, R., & Ima, K. (1988). The adaptation of Southeast Asian refugee youth: A

comparative study. Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement.

Rumbaut, R.G. (1991). The agony of exile: A study of the migration and adaption of Indochinese refugee adults and children. In Ahearn, F.L. & Athey, J.L. (1991). *Refugee children: Theory, research, and services*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.

Rumbaut, R. G. (1994). The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. *International Migration Review*, 28, 748-794.

Sabogal, F., Martin, G., & Otero-Sabogal, R. (1987). Hispanic familism and acculturation: What changes and what doesn't? *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 9, 397-412.

Sakamoto, A., & Woo, H. (2007). The socioeconomic attainments of second-generation Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, and Vietnamese Americans. Sociological Inquiry, 77(1), 44-75. doi:10.1111/j.1475-682X.2007.00177.x

Seidman, I. (2019). Interviewing as qualitative research: a guide for researchers in education and the social sciences. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Shaw, G. D. T. (2015). The lost mandate of heaven: The American betrayal of Ngo Dinh Diem, President of Vietnam. San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Sheehan, N. (1988). A bright shining lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam. New York: Vintage Books.

Shen, F. C., Liao, K. Y., Abraham, W. T., & Weng, C. (2014). Parental pressure and support toward Asian Americans' self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and interests in stereotypical occupations: Living up to parental expectations and internalized stereotyping as mediators. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 61*(2), 241-252. doi:10.1037/a0036219

Shilpa, D., Dhingra, P., Maira, S., Mazumdar, P., Shankar, L. D., Singh, J., & Srikanth, R. (2000). De-privileging positions: Indian Americans, South Asian Americans, and the politics of Asian American Studies. *Journal of Asian American Studies, 3*(1), 67-100. doi:10.1353/jaas.2000.0003

Sloan, A., & Bowe, B. (2013). Phenomenology and hermeneutic phenomenology: The philosophy, the methodologies, and using hermeneutic phenomenology to investigate lecturers' experiences of curriculum design. *Quality & Quantity, 48*(3), 1291-1303. doi:10.1007/s11135-013-9835-3

Smith, J. A., Larkin, M., & Flowers, P. (2009). Doing interpretative phenomenological analysis: A practical guide to method and application. London: SAGE.

Song, C. & Glick, J. E. (2004), College attendance and choice of college majors among Asian-American students. *Social Science Quarterly*, 85: 1401–1421. doi:10.1111/j.0038-4941.2004.00283.x

Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (SEARAC) (2011). Southeast Asian Americans at a glance: Statistics on Southeast Asians adapted from the American Community Survey. Retrieved August 24, 2018 from http://www.searac.org/resource-hub/demographics/southeast-asian-americans-glance-statistical-profile-2010/

Southeast Asian Resource Action Center (SEARAC) (2013). Increase access to higher education: Why are Southeast Asians not going to college? Retrieved from SEARAC website: https://www.searac.org/resource-hub/education/resources-toolkits-education/overview-of-southeast-asian-educational-challenges-why-are-southeast-asian-american-students-falling-behind/

Southeast Asian Resource Action Center (SEARAC) (Ed.). (2019, January). *States with the largest Southeast Asian American populations*. Retrieved from https://www.searac.org/demographics/ states-with-the-largest-southeast-asian-american-populations/

Southeast Asian Resource Action Center (SEARAC) (Ed.). (2020, January). *Asian American organizations denounce deportations of over 30 Cambodian Americans at beginning of 2020*. Retrieved from https://www.searac.org/tag/deportation/

Southeast Asia Resource Action Center & Asian Pacific American Legal Center, Asian Americans Advancing Justice – Los Angeles. (2020). *Southeast Asian American journeys: A national snapshot of our communities.* http://www.advancingjustice-la.org/demographics

Spinelli, E. (2011). The interpreted world: An introduction to phenomenological psychology. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

Steinberg, L., Dornbusch, S. M., & Brown, B. B. (1992). Ethnic differences in adolescent achievement: An ecological perspective. American Psychologist, 47, 723-729.

Steinberg, L., Dornbusch, S. M., & Brown, B. B. (1993). Ethnic differences in adolescent

achievement: An ecological perspective. *Annual Progress in Child Psychiatry and Child Development*, 528-543.

Steinberg, L. (2001). We know some things: Parent–adolescent relationships in retrospect and prospect. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 11, 1–19.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Strom, R., Johnson, D., Strom, S., & Daniels, S. (1992). Supporting the adjustment of immigrant families. *International Journal of Sociology of the Family*, 22, 35–44.

Su, J., Lee, R. M., & Vang, S. (2005). Intergenerational family conflict and coping among Hmong American college students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 482–489. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.4.482

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (1995). Transformation: Immigration, family life, and achievement motivation among Latino adolescents. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Sue, D. W., Bucceri, J., Lin, A. I., Nadal, K. L., & Torino, G. C. (2007). Racial micro aggressions and the Asian American experience. Cultural diversity and occupational segregation & Asian American academic and vocational choices. *Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13(1), 72–81.

Supple, A.J., McCoy, S.Z., & Wang, Y. (2010). Parental influences on Hmong university students' success. *Hmong Studies Journal*, 11, 137. Retrieved from http://hmongstudies.org/ SuppleMcCoyWangHSJ11.pdf

Surla, K., & Poon, O. A. (2015). Visualizing social influences on Filipino American and Southeast Asian American college choice. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement, 10*(2). doi:10.7771/2153-8999.1132

Suzuki, B. H. (2002). Revisiting the model minority stereotype: Implications for student affairs practice and higher education. *New Directions for Student Services, 2002*(97), 21-32. doi:10.1002/ss.36

Takaki, R. (1998). Strangers from a different shore: a history of Asian Americans. New York: Little, Brown.

Tang, M., Fouad, N. A., & Smith, P. L. (1999). Asian Americans' career choices: A path model to examine factors influencing their career choices. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 54, 142–157.

Tang, K., & Kao, D. (2012). Ethnicity, gender, and the education of Cambodian American students in an urban high school. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education & Advancement*. 7, 1-24.

Tang, J., Kim, S., & Haviland, D. (2013). Role of family, culture, and peers in the success of first-generation Cambodian American college students. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement, 8*(1). doi:10.7771/2153-8999.1057

Tang, M., Fouad, N. A., & Smith, P. L. (1999). Asian Americans' career choices: A path model to examine factors influencing their career choices. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *54*, 142-157.

Taylor, K. W. (2014). *Voices from the Second Republic of South Vietnam (1967-1975)*. Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.

Taylor, K.W. (2013). *A history of the Vietnamese*. Cambridge University Press.

Teranishi, R. (2010). Asians in the ivory tower: Dilemmas of racial inequality in American higher education. New York, NY: Teacher's College Press.

Teranishi, R. T., & Kim, V. (2017). The changing demographic landscape of the nation: Perspectives on college opportunities for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. *The Educational Forum*, *81*, 204-216.

Time. (1966, May 13). Hitting the Sihanouk Trail. *Time Magazine*, *87*(19), 33-34.

Ting, S.-M. R. (2000). Predicting Asian Americans' academic performance in the first year of college: An approach combining SAT scores and noncognitive variables. *Journal of College Student Development*, 41(4), 442-449.

Trieu, M. M. (2016). Family obligation fulfillment among Southeast Asian American young adults. *Journal of Family Issues*, *37*(10), 1355-1383. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X14551174

Truong, N. N., & Miller, M. J. (2018). Family and social cognitive predictors of Southeast Asian American college students' academic satisfaction. *Journal of Career Assessment*, *26*(3), 488-502. https://doi.org/10.1177/1069072717714543

Turner, S. L., Joeng, J. R., Sims, M. D., Dade, S. N., & Reid, M. F. (2019). SES, gender, and STEM career interests, goals, and actions: A test of SCCT. *Journal of Career Assessment, 27*(1), 134-150. doi:10.1177/1069072717748665

Uba, L., & Chung, R. C. (1991). Th e relationship between trauma and financial and physical well-being among Cambodians in the United States. *Journal of General Psychology*, 118(3), 215–225.

Um, K. (2003). A dream denied: Educational experiences of Southeast Asian American youth. Washington, DC: Southeast Asian Resource Action Center and Berkeley Southeast Asian Student Coalition.

Underrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization [UNPO] (2018 November 23). Alarming crackdown on a group of Hmong individuals in Laos. Retrieved from https://unpo.org/article/21243.

Ung, L. (2006). First they killed my father: A daughter of Cambodia remembers. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publisher.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (2000). DP-1: Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics: 2000. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service (1998). 1997 statistical yearbook of the immigration and naturalization service [M-367]. (1978). Washington, D.C. Retrieved from https://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/1997YB.pdf

U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). Decennial census datasets: Datasets. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/data/datasets.2010.html

U.S. Census Bureau. (2017). Educational Attainment in the United States: 2017. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2017/demo/education-attainment/cps-detailed-tables.html

U.S. Census Bureau. (2017). Highest Educational Levels Reached by Adults in the U.S. Since 1940 [Press release]. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2017/cb17-51.html Release Number: CB17-51.

U.S. Census Bureau (2017) B02018: 2017 American community survey 1-year estimates - Asian alone or in any combination by selected groups, H.R. Retrieved from https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk

U.S. Census Bureau. (2018). Race: About. Retrieved from https://www.census.gov/topics/population/race/about.html

U.S. Census Bureau (2020). Race: About. Retrieved February 15, 2020, from website: https://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/2010_census/cb12-cn22.html

U.S. Census Bureau. (2012, September). Definitions and explanations of terms: 2010 census

summary file 1. Retrieved March 23, 2019, from https://www.census.gov/main/www/glossary.html

U.S. Census Bureau. (2017). 2017 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates: Table B02018 - Asian Alone or in Any Combination.

U.S. Census Bureau. U.S. Department of Commerce: Economic and Statistics Administration. (2018, April). *Update on the U.S. Census Bureau's race and ethnicity question proposals for the 2020 census* (N. A. Jones, Author). Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau.

U.S. Department of Homeland Security. (2017, November 14). Yearbook of Immigration Statistics. Retrieved from https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2018, September). *Labor force statistics from the current population survey* (U.S. Department of Labor, Author). Retrieved from https://www.bls.gov/cps/earnings.htm#demographics

Uy, P. S. (2016). Unpacking racial identities: The salience of ethnicity in Southeast Asian-American youth's schooling experience. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 21*(3), 407-421. doi:10.1080/13613324.2016.1248820

Uy, P. S., Kim, S. J., & Khuon, C. (2016). College and career readiness of Southeast Asian American college students in New England. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory & Practice*, 152102511667885. doi:10.1177/1521025116678852

Vega, W. A. (1990). Hispanic families in the 1990s: A decade of research. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52, 1015-1024.

Vue, P. (2015). The Vietnam War and its impacts on the Hmong. *Geopolitics*, 20(4), 749-752. doi:10.1080/14650045.2015.1095592

White, A. V., & Perrone-McGovern, K. (2017). Influence of generational status and financial stress on academic and career self-Efficacy. J*ournal of Employment Counseling*, 54(1), 38-46. doi:10.1002/joec.12049

Wiest, A. A. (2009). *Vietnam's forgotten army: Heroism and betrayal in the ARVN*. New York: New York University Press.

Wong, S. (2001). Depression level in inner-city Asian American adolescents: The contribution of cultural orientation and interpersonal relationship. *Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 3, 49–64.

Wong, E.C., Kinzie, J.D., & Kinzie, J.M. (2008). Stress, refugees, and trauma. In N. Tewari, & A. N. Alvarez (Eds.), A*sian American psychology: Current perspectives* (pp. 441-462). New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Wright, W. E., & Boun, S. (2011). Southeast Asian American education 35 years after initial resettlement: Research report and policy recommendations. *Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement*, 6(1), 1–77.

Wu, E. D. (2014). *The color of success: Asian Americans and the origins of the model minority*. Princeton University Press.

Wu, F. H., & Kidder, W. (2006, October). Asian Americans aren't White folks' 'racial mascots'. *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, 23(17), 48.

Xiong, Z. B., Detzner, D. F., & Rettig, D. K. (2001). Southeast Asian immigrant parenting practices and perceptions of parent–adolescent conflicts. *Journal of Teaching Marriage and Family: Innovations in Family Science Education*, 1(1), 27–45.

Xiong, Z. B., Eliason, P. A., Detzner, D. F., & Cleveland, M. J. (2005). Southeast Asian immigrants' perception of good adolescents and good parents. *The Journal of Psychology*, 139, 159–175.

Xiong, Y. S. (2016). The centrality of ethnic community and the military service master frame in Hmong Americans' protest events and cycles of protest, 1980-2010. *Hmong Studies Journal, 17*(1), G1-33.

Xiong, S., & Lam, S. K. (2013). Factors affecting the success of Hmong college students in America. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling, 41*(2), 132-144. doi:10.1080/03069885.2012.713909

Yang, K. (2008). Hmong American contemporary experience. In H. Ling (Ed.), *Emerging Voices: Experiences of Underrepresented Asian Americans* (pp. 236-253). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Yang, A. (2014). Themes in the career development of 1.5-generation Hmong American women. *Journal of Career Development*, *41*(5), 402-425. https://doi.org/10.1177/0894845313507775

Yang, K. (2004). Southeast Asian American children: Not the "Model Minority". *The Future of Children*, *14*(2), 127-133. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/1602799

Yau, J. (2005, January 01). The foreign-born Hmong in the United States. Retrieved from Migration Policy Institute website: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/print/4710#.W1eKTn4nbRY

Ying, Y., & Han, M. (2007). A Test of the Intergenerational Congruence in Immigrant Families--Child Scale with Southeast Asian Americans. *Social Work Research, 31*(1), 35-43. doi:10.1093/swr/31.1.35

Yoo, H. C., Miller, M. J., & Yip, P. (2015). Validation of the internalization of the model minority myth measure (IM-4) and its link to academic performance and psychological adjustment among Asian American adolescents. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology, 21*(2), 237-246. doi:10.1037/a0037648

Zhan, L. (Ed.). (2009). *Asian American voices: Engaging, empowering, enabling*. New York, NY: National League for Nursing.

Zhang, L., Lee, E. S., Kenworthy, C. A., Chiang, S., Holaday, L., Spencer, D. J., . . . Sánchez, J. P. (2017). Southeast and East Asian American Medical Students' Perceptions of Careers in Academic Medicine. *Journal of Career Development,* 089484531774022. doi:10.1177/0894845317740225

Zhou, M., & Bankston, C. L., III. (1998). Growing up American: How Vietnamese American children adapt to life in the United States. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Zinoman, P. (2000). Colonial Prisons and Anti-colonial Resistance in French Indochina: The Thai Nguyen Rebellion, 1917. *Modern Asian Studies*, 34(1), 57-98. doi:10.1017/s0026749x00003590